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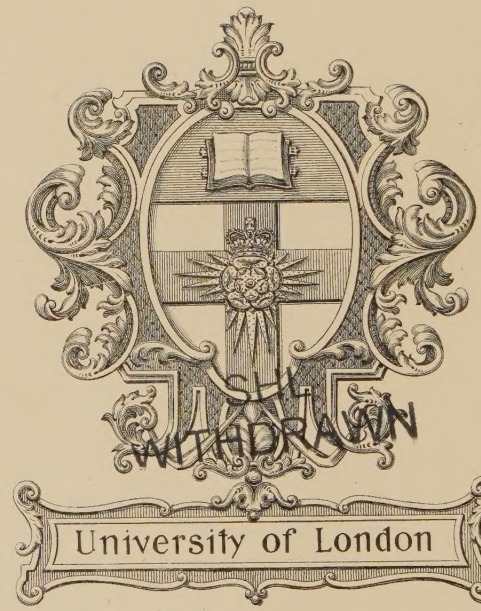

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THE RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH GUIANA

By the Rev. G. C. Edmundson, Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Read November 9, 1922.

Guiana, in the larger sense of the word, is that portion of the South American continent bounded on the north and north-east by the ocean; on the south, south-west and west by the river Amazon, its tributary the Rio Negro, the river Cassiquiare, which unites the river Negro to the river Orinoco, and by the river Orinoco itself. It is thus an island; as there is no break in the water-line that surrounds it. This larger Guiana is, however, divided into two distinct portions, separated from one another by a series of mountain ranges stretching from the Orinoco to the river Oyapok. That portion, which lies between these mountain ranges and the sea, differs entirely in character from the Guiana of the watersheds of the Amazon and Orinoco. It consists of a succession of tablelands, rising one above the other, and is watered by a large number of nearly parallel rivers, whose cataracts and frequent rapids render navigation into the interior, except by canoes, practically impossible. In this Guiana, the Guiana with which this paper deals, there have never been any Spanish or Portuguese settlements. At the end of the sixteenth century no attempt had been made by the Spaniards to cross the river Orinoco,

or by the Portuguese, to reach the mouth of the river Amazon. Between these two rivers lay a *terra incognita*, of which nothing was known, until the publication of Ralegh's *Discoverie of Guiana* in 1595. This book contains a description of Ralegh's first voyage along that coast, and caused a considerable sensation, being translated into several languages. His glowing picture, derived from native reports, of a great lake in the far interior of Guiana, on whose shores, in the Golden City of Manoa, El Dorado, the Gilded King resided, aroused the keenest interest, especially in England and Holland. The voyage of Captain Keymis, one of Ralegh's lieutenants, in 1596, added much to the knowledge of the coast-line of the country, for he visited all the mouths of the rivers; and another English voyager, Captain Berrie, in the following year, sailing along the same coast, was able to add further geographical details. Adventurers, English and Dutch, were quickly attracted towards this unoccupied shore, but whereas the English came to settle and plant, as well as to trade, the Dutch were at this time merely traders. It should be mentioned here, that one of the reasons why the Spaniards from their settlements beyond the Orinoco had neglected to explore the Guiana coast-line, was the fact that a strong tide always runs along this shore-line from east to west, and that the winds were also ordinarily contrary. The English and Dutch voyagers always pursued the same course. Touching at the Cape Verde islands to replenish their stores, the trade winds carried them across the Atlantic towards the mouth of the Amazon. From this point they sailed along the Guiana coast, hugging the shore, as far as the mouth of the Orinoco, and then returned home by way of the West Indies. The first man to attempt a settlement in Guiana was Captain Charles Leigh in 1604. Sailing from Woolwich in a fifty-ton vessel containing thirty-four men, he landed at the first of the Guiana rivers that he passed, the Oyapok, and succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the natives. Disease, however, decimated the settlers, Leigh himself

being one of the victims, and the survivors returned home. Five years later a second attempt to settle on the Oyapok was made on a larger scale by Captain Robert Harcourt. This effort had a longer life, for in 1613 King James gave Harcourt a patent giving him possession of all the country between the Amazon and the Essequibo. Harcourt, however, abandoned the Oyapok shortly afterwards, his rights under the patent passing to a certain Captain Roger North, whose Amazon Company lingered on until 1623, chiefly engaged in raising crops of tobacco. Undismayed by previous failures, a fresh attempt was made, and a patent was granted to a new "Company of Noblemen and Gentlemen of England for the Plantation of Guiana." Some hundreds of colonists went out; but the struggle was too severe; the company was soon in financial difficulties, and all further settlements on the Oyapok were abandoned. More successful was the colony established at Tararica on the river Surinam by Captain Marshall in 1630, but the promise that for some years attended the Marshall plantation was unfortunately destroyed in 1645 by an attack of hostile Indians. The Colony of Surinam was soon, however, to be re-established, in 1650, by Lord Willoughby of Parham, Governor of Barbados; the first colonists being chiefly Cavaliers who had sought refuge in the West Indies. After the Restoration, in 1663, the colony being in a flourishing state, with sugar plantations and cattle ranches, a grant was made by King Charles to Lord Willoughby of the territory lying between the rivers Saramaca and Marowyne, to be called Willoughbyland. Tararica, situated on Marshall's creek, was still the capital; it lay, for safety against attacks from the sea, some distance inland; and on the outbreak of war with the Dutch in 1665, the Governor, William Byam, had a fort erected at the Indian village of Paramaribo, closing the entrance into the river Surinam. At this time the French, after several disastrous failures to make a settlement at Cayenne, had now firmly established themselves on the island and the mouth of the river of that

name. This infant colony lay immediately to the east of Willoughbyland. To the west the Dutch had already, in 1616, erected a trading-post, named Kijkoveral, at the head of the estuary of the Essequibo, which after 1621 passed into the hands of the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company. In 1627 a merchant by name Abraham van Peere, by permission of this Company, sent out an expedition to colonize the neighbouring river, Berbice; and in 1658 another settlement was made on the river Pomeroon by Zeeland colonists from the island of Walcheren. On the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch war, in 1665, Lord Willoughby sent a force under the command of a certain Major John Scott from Barbados to attack the Dutch colonies. Scott has himself given an account of his capture of Kijkoveral and his destruction of the Pomeroon settlement. A small garrison was left, but was shortly afterwards expelled by the energy of the Dutch commandant of Berbice. When the news of Scott's success reached Holland, the States of Zeeland at once dispatched a fleet of seven war-vessels under Admiral Abraham Crynnsen to Guiana. Crynnsen arrived at the mouth of the Surinam, February, 1667, and summoned Governor Byam to surrender. As the newly created fort at Paramaribo was in no condition to resist so strong a force, Byam capitulated, and the English colony passed into Dutch possession. By the Peace of Breda, signed July 11, 1667, this possession became permanent. By this treaty it was arranged that each party should retain its captures, and thus it was brought about that the English colony of Surinam became Dutch; and the Dutch colony of New Netherland, with its capital New Amsterdam (now New York) became English. The effect of this exchange was to place the whole of the coast of Guiana from the river Marowyne, the boundary of French Cayenne, to the Orinoco, stretching some 600 miles, under Dutch control. During the following century Great Britain had no further relations with Guiana, but, as later events were to prove, had a very direct interest in the progress and

development of the western Dutch colonies, which were to become British Guiana.

The Colony of Essequibo, after the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch wars, had a fresh lease of existence; and much activity was shown in the extension of the area under cultivation; in the placing of officials in fortified posts to exercise control over the natives; and in the encouragement of trade with the far interior. The colony, however, lying as it did on the borders of Spanish territory, and therefore in constant danger of attack from the west, owed its preservation, consolidation and extension, largely to the wise and strong administration of Laurens Storm van 'sGravesande, who went out as Secretary in 1738, and was afterwards Governor for thirty years. This able man's voluminous dispatches (now in the British Record Office) furnish an invaluable account of all that he achieved, despite the constant neglect of the home authorities, in the encouragement of sugar plantations; in his watchful vigilance against Spanish encroachment; in his conciliatory policy towards the native tribes; and in the exploration of the upper waters of the Essequibo and its tributaries. Gravesande's prescience was especially displayed in the foundation of a settlement on the river Demerara. Hitherto only a trading-post had been maintained on that river; but so advantageous was the position for sugar plantations, that with the help of British capital and settlers from Barbados, the Demerara colony in a few years was more flourishing than that of Essequibo; and in 1750 it received a Governor of its own, subordinate to the Governor of Essequibo, who now received the title of Director-General. Meanwhile the Berbice colony continued its separate existence under the management of a private Company, and was fairly flourishing, when a serious negro revolt in 1763 threatened it with destruction. It was saved by a force of 200 British sent from Barbados at the instance of the two Englishmen, father and son, both named Gedney Clarke, who had previously assisted Gravesande in founding the Demerara colony.

With this force from Barbados a body of native Indians co-operated, dispatched to the help of the neighbouring colony by Gravesande, whose friendly relations with the aboriginal tribes were thus fully vindicated.

In December, 1780, in the crisis of the revolt of her North American Colonies, Holland joined the coalition of France and Spain against Great Britain. The declaration of war was quickly followed by the capture of the three colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice by the British fleet, and in October, 1781, an English Governor, Kingston, arrived in Demerara. He found his task an easy one, as so many of the plantations were in English hands. One of his first steps was to move the seat of government, which then was some way up the river, to the site, nearer to the mouth, on which Georgetown now stands. Unfortunately, in March, 1782, a strong French squadron appeared off Demerara, and by threatening to destroy all the English plantations, compelled Kingston to surrender. For two years the three colonies now passed under French rule; and notwithstanding the fact that they were the possessions of their ally, they were treated as if they were conquered territory. Taxes were arbitrarily raised, and forced labour was employed to erect forts, and to proceed with Governor Kingston's plans for the building of new government offices. By the Peace of Paris (September, 1783) the Dutch once more regained possession of their colonies. The site chosen for the new capital was so advantageous that it was adopted by the Dutch authorities, and received the name of Stabrock. It is unnecessary to tell the story of the period of confusion and decadence which intervened between 1784 and the conquest of Holland by the French revolutionary armies in 1795. In April, 1796, a British squadron appeared in the Demerara and demanded the surrender of the colonies in the name of the Prince of Orange, who had fled to England. The terms offered were very favourable; and the three colonies of Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo passed into British hands. The British were, in fact, welcomed, and

the entire Dutch garrison of Demerara accepted British service, as "the loyal Orange battalion," the invaders being regarded as caretakers for the exiled Prince of Orange. It has already been pointed out that many plantations were in English hands; and after the British occupation a constant flow of new settlers set in from the British West Indies; and with the help of British capital the colonies entered upon a period of increasing prosperity. In Demerara the capital Stabrock was much enlarged and improved; and in Berbice the seat of government, New Amsterdam, grew from a village to a town. The colonies were in this flourishing condition when the Peace of Amiens (March 25, 1802) handed them back, unconditionally, to the Batavian Republic. The result threatened to be disastrous, for the Dutch Governor ordered the English settlers to sell their plantations; and trading with British Possessions was prohibited. Fortunately for the colonies this short-sighted policy had little time to effect its purpose; for the war was renewed in May, 1803; and in September Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice once more surrendered to the British fleet. During the period of occupation which now followed, more and more plantations of sugar, cotton and coffee, fell into Anglo-Scottish hands, but their prosperity, which depended on negro labour, was considerably checked after 1807 by the abolition of the slave trade. The anglicization of the Colonies meanwhile went on apace. The system of government was remodelled. The colonies of Demerara and Essequibo were united, and the name of the seat of government was changed from Stabrock to Georgetown. With the downfall of Napoleon and the erection of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, there was for a time much alarm among the planters lest the colonies should once more be restored to Dutch rule. This, however, was not to be. By a Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands, signed August 13, 1814, all the Dutch Colonies captured in the war were restored with the exception of Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice and the Cape of Good Hope. Compen-

sation amounting to £6,000,000 sterling was, however, paid; a sum which was undoubtedly excessive, but in regard to the Guiana colonies, it was justified by the fact that it would have been unfair to the English settlers, who had invested so much capital in their plantations, to have placed them under foreign rule; and moreover public opinion in the colonies, Dutch as well as English, was opposed to a change of government. The internal history of the colonies for the seventy years which followed the annexation is mainly concerned with the question of the supply of labour. All slaves became free in 1838, and refused to work any longer on the plantations, which consequently languished, and, indeed, many had to be abandoned. Attempts were made to supply the place of the negro by supplies of indentured labour, Portuguese, Chinese, and Indian coolies. Both Portuguese and Chinese proved unfit for severe labour; but the East Indian coolie has proved a great success and a large number of East Indians have settled permanently in British Guiana. They now form 42.7 per cent. of the entire population, more than half of these having been born in the Colony. They outnumber the negroes, and the future prosperity of the Colony largely depends on their acclimatization and permanent settlement in the country.

Boundary Disputes and Settlements

No definite boundary-line between the Dutch Colony of Essequibo and the Spanish (Venezuelan) and the Portuguese (Brazilian) territories to the west and south had ever been drawn in the two centuries which elapsed between the first Dutch settlement on the Essequibo in 1616 and the cession of the colony to Great Britain in 1815. The reason for this is found in the fact that the various jurisdictions were for a long period separated by unoccupied areas inhabited only by wandering Indian tribes, and were never in actual contact. As, however, in the course of the nineteenth century, the boundary questions became acute and led to two important Arbitrations, it will be well for the sake

of clearness to give a brief historical survey of the subject matter of each of these Arbitrations separately.

(1) The Dutch (British) and Spanish (Venezuelan) boundary question.

The settlements of the Dutch in Essequibo lay upon the alluvial tract on the seashore, and on the islands and lower reaches of the river Essequibo, and also further to the west, on the river Pomeroon. The seat of government at first was near the point at the head of the estuary of the Essequibo, where the three rivers the Upper Essequibo, the Mazaruni and the Cuyuni meet, but in 1739 it was removed by Governor Gravesande to the Great Flag island lower down the river. Fortified posts were, however, established and maintained on the Moruca, a stream situated between the mouth of the Essequibo and that of the Orinoco; at a point on the river Cuyuni at some distance from its junction with the Essequibo; and at a post named Arinda high up the Upper Essequibo. The object of these posts was the promotion of trade and the maintenance of friendly relations with the natives; and in the case of the posts at Moruca and on the Cuyuni, for safeguarding the colony against possible Spanish raids from the west. On the other hand, the Orinoco remained the easternmost limit of Spanish occupation until past the middle of the eighteenth century. Their only post on the Orinoco up to 1764 was Santo Thomé or Vieja Guyana, about 100 miles above the mouth of that river; and this in 1764 was abandoned and moved 140 miles higher up to Angostura (now Ciudad Bolivar). It was about this date that the Catalonian Capuchins began to establish mission stations between the Orinoco and the upper reaches of the Cuyuni, but without penetrating into the Cuyuni valley. Such territorial claims as the Dutch possessed became British claims in 1815; those of Spain after the War of Independence passed to the republic of Venezuela.

The question of the boundary of their jurisdiction occupied the attention of the British administration from the time

of the first occupation, but it was not till 1836 that Sir Robert Schomburgk was commissioned by the British Government to make a thorough survey of the country, and to draw a boundary-line which would reasonably and fairly represent the rights inherited by Great Britain from the Dutch. After four remarkable journeys of exploration, during one of which he, in 1840, discovered the sources of the Essequibo, Schomburgk drew the boundary-line, which bore his name in the subsequent negotiations. The drawing of this line was met, in 1844, by Venezuela putting forward a claim to the whole territory lying between the Orinoco and Essequibo, in other words, to about one-half of British Guiana. Great Britain however at this time, and indeed throughout the long controversy, showed herself anxious to obtain a peaceful settlement, and Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, offered to make considerable concessions in order to secure a friendly agreement, at the same time asserting that the Venezuelan claims were wholly inadmissible. To this amicable dispatch the Venezuelan Foreign Office sent no answer, and accordingly were informed that the British Government's offer was withdrawn. In 1850, however, an arrangement was made between the two Powers that neither of them should occupy any portion of the disputed zone until the boundary question was settled. The difficulties of such an arrangement are apparent, and, though matters went on quietly for a time, the discovery of auriferous deposits in this unoccupied borderland revived the old dispute in an aggravated form. It came to a head in 1884 with the granting of concessions to foreign prospectors by the Venezuelan authorities within the proscribed territory. Finally, in 1886, the Governor of British Guiana issued a proclamation that persons attempting to exercise rights under any pretended titles within the provisional Schomburgk boundary-line would be treated as trespassers. An exchange of diplomatic notes had no result. The Venezuelan Government refused the concessions offered by the British Foreign Office, and would abate nothing of their claim to

all territory west of the Essequibo. They even went so far in February, 1887, as to give the British Minister at Caracas his passports. The gold industry during the following years, organized and protected by the Colonial Government, began to prosper, and in 1893 the output was valued at more than half a million sterling. The news of this success led to acts of aggression on the part of Venezuela. In 1894 a British police-station was attacked and destroyed, and in 1896 a surveyor engaged in road-making was arrested. Lord Salisbury now informed the Venezuelan Government that Great Britain intended to maintain its rights up to the Schomburgk line, if necessary by force. Venezuela on this appealed to the United States, and asked for protection under the Monroe Doctrine against the unjust aggression of a powerful European State against a weak South American Republic. On this the American President, Grover Cleveland, without approaching the British Foreign Office and with no knowledge of the rights of the case or of the grounds on which the British Government had taken decisive action, issued a decree, December, 1896, appointing a Commission to investigate the merits of the boundary dispute, and declaring further that the Commission's report on the matter would be final. His words were :

"When such report is made and accepted it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of Governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela."

Such a startling declaration was naturally resented in Great Britain, and might have led to war between the two English-speaking peoples. Lord Salisbury, however, handled the critical situation in a calm and conciliatory manner, and his proposal to refer the question to Arbitration was accepted, and a treaty for the settlement of the boundary dispute was signed, February 2, 1897. It was agreed that a tribunal

should be appointed consisting of five jurists, two on the part of Great Britain nominated by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; two on the part of Venezuela, one nominated by the Venezuelan President, the other by the Supreme Court of the United States of America; and a fifth to be selected by the four so nominated, who was to be President of the tribunal. The Court of Arbitration was to sit at Paris and its duties were

> "to investigate and ascertain the extent of the territories belonging to, or that might be lawfully claimed by, the United Netherlands or by the Kingdom of Spain respectively at the time of the acquisition by Great Britain of the Colony of British Guiana, and shall determine the boundary line between the Colony of British Guiana and the United States of Venezuela."

The Arbitrators that were appointed were—Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England; Sir R. Henn Collins, a Justice of Her Britannic Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature; the Hon. Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States of America; the Hon. David J. Brewer, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A.; and His Excellency F. de Martens, Permanent Member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Russia.

Two years were occupied by historical and legal experts, British and American, in a thorough investigation of the Spanish and Dutch colonial archives, and in drawing up the cases and arguments based upon documentary authorities covering some three centuries. The question was finally argued before the tribunal by eminent counsel representing the two parties, the leaders being Sir Richard Webster, Attorney-General of England, and the American Ex-President Harrison. The hearing of the case, covering as it did such a mass of historical evidence, and involving questions as to the interpretation of treaties (notably of Arts. V. and VI. of the Treaty of Munster, 1648) and of difficult points of international law, was prolonged. The opening speech of Sir R. Webster lasted for more than three weeks. The decision of the tribunal (July,

1899) was unanimous, and was in the highest degree satisfactory to Great Britain, whose rights had been so unceremoniously challenged. The Venezuelan claims amounted to 30,000 square miles; the court awarded to Venezuela two small areas within the Schomburgk line, some 200 square miles in all; and it was well known that these two areas were a concession made to secure a unanimous verdict. The majority of the arbitrators were in favour of granting the larger British claim, which was not pressed. The two conceded areas were Barima Point, and a small district on the Upper Cuyuni. The Barima area, lying between the mouths of the Barima and the Waini and the Mora Passage connecting the Barima with the Waini, was at one time occupied by the Dutch, who built a fortified post at the point; it was never at any time occupied by the Spaniards or Venezuelans. Its strategical position, however, commanding as it does the principal mouth of the Orinoco, the waterway giving access to the interior of the country, rendered this piece of swampy land valuable to the Venezuelans. The area on the Upper Cuyuni was claimed on the ground that in the eighteenth century Spanish Capuchins had established mission stations in this district. Its value was due to its position on the edge of the auriferous region.

(2) The Dutch (British) and Portuguese (Brazilian) boundary question.

The question of the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela acquired an exaggerated importance during the closing years of the last century, not so much upon its merits, but because of the dramatic intervention of the United States. The dispute as to the delimitation of the southern boundary of the British colony with Brazil was of ancient date, and presented features of far greater interest, historically and geographically, than that which was decided by the Paris Court of Arbitration in 1899. It is not too much to say that in the three years which elapsed between the signing of the Arbitration Treaty in 1901

and the decision given by the arbitrator, the King of Italy, the researches that were carried out in the colonial archives in Portugal and Holland and elsewhere were exceptionally fruitful in the light that they throw upon the gradual exploration and opening out of one of the world's most remote and almost unknown regions, and possess a permanent historical value.

Premising that the rights of Great Britain were those inherited from the Dutch, at the time of the cession in 1815 of the colony of Essequibo, it seems to be necessary for the sake of clearness, before speaking of the protracted diplomatic negotiations between Great Britain and Brazil, to describe briefly the peculiar geographical character of the disputed area, and its history, as revealed by authentic contemporary evidence from Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish and English sources.

The zone in question, strictly speaking, lies in the Amazonian basin, but it has this peculiarity that it is accessible by water both from the north and from the south. The approach from the Portuguese early settlements near the mouth of the Amazon was, during the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, absolutely unknown to them. The ascent of the river Amazon to its junction with the Rio Negro and up the Rio Negro to the mouth of the Rio Branco, meant a voyage of many hundred miles. This last important tributary, whose name Rio Branco is derived from the whiteness of its water, in distinction to the blackness of the water of the Rio Negro, enters that river on the left bank and after a northerly course receives the river Parima or Uraricoera from the west, and the Takutú from the north-north-east. The river Takutú, which for some sixty miles is really a continuation of the Rio Branco, after being joined by the river Cotinga from the north-west and the river Mahú or Ireng from the north, turns suddenly in a southerly direction nearly parallel to the river Branco. The region enclosed by the rivers Cotinga

and Takutú is the area to which Great Britain and Brazil laid claim, and which has been described as the disputed zone.

The approach to this zone from the early Dutch settlements on the Essequibo estuary followed the upper course of the river Essequibo as far as the point where it is joined by its principal tributary the river Rupununi from the west. The river Rupununi, after a westward course through the Savannah country lying between the Pacaraima and the Canaku Mountains, turns suddenly southwards and runs henceforth in a direction roughly parallel to the Mahú and the upper Takutú. A little to the north of the junction of the Mahú with the Takutú and about midway between the Mahú and the Rupununi, lies a depression in the Savannah, which in the rainy season is inundated, and a lake formed, known as Amucú. This lake covers the site of Ralegh's mythical inland sea of Parima. A stream, the Pirara, flows from lake Amucú into the river Mahú, and another stream, the Quatata, in the opposite direction unites the lake with the Rupununi. Thus in the wet season it is possible to pass in canoes, and at all times by a short portage, the Pirara portage, from the Essequibo by way of the Rupununi, the Pirara portage, the Mahú and the Branco into the Rio Negro. That Dutch traders made use of this waterway to the south already in the second quarter of the seventeenth century we learn from a Spanish source. Up to the year 1638 the Portuguese were only acquainted with the lower reaches of the river Amazon. In that year, stirred by the arrival at Pará of two Franciscan lay-brothers from Quito, who had drifted down the river in a boat, a great expedition, under the command of Pedro Teixeira, left Pará, and after ten months voyaging arrived in the river Napo, from whence Teixeira made his way to Quito. On the return voyage the Portuguese were accompanied by the Spanish Jesuit, Father Christoval de Acuña, as official historiographer of the journey. Acuña in his narrative records that certain

Indians, who lived near the mouth of the Rio Negro, were in possession of iron goods received from the Dutch, who were settled in the north on the Rio Dolce, an old name for the Essequibo. Major John Scott (in his account of Guiana)[1] relates that, in the expedition under his command, which took possession of the Dutch Colony of Essequibo in 1665, he took prisoner a certain Hendrickson, who had for twenty-seven years been serving some Dutch merchants, as a factor trading with "the upland Indians of Guiana"; and these upland Indians are described as "extending themselves to the Rio Negro." He also tells us of an official expedition of exploration dispatched by the Dutch Governor Groenewegen, which journeyed for more than 300 miles into the interior.

The erection of a "strong-house" or fort at the Barra of the Rio Negro in 1695 marked the first effort of the Portuguese to establish their control of the river Amazon, as far as the junction of the Upper Amazon or Solimoens with the Rio Negro. In 1719 a dispatch from the Governor of Maranhao, Pereira de Berredo, contains the first mention in any Portuguese document of the Rio Branco. He complains that the fort at the Barra does not prevent the trade of the Dutch with the Manáos, the principal tribe of the Rio Negro, and recommends that the fort should be moved up as far as the "river of the Dutch," i.e. the Rio Branco. Again from Portuguese sources we learn that at this time the Manáo chief, Ajuricaba, "had made an alliance with the Dutch of Guiana, with whom he traded by the Rio Branco," and it is added "that he, Ajuricaba, infested the Rio Negro with the greatest freedom, flying the Dutch flag upon his canoes, in such a way that he made himself universally feared." This state of things being intolerable, strong Portuguese forces were sent up the Rio Negro, and in 1727 Ajuricaba was finally defeated and captured. From this date Portuguese control of the Rio Negro was undisputed; and Carmelite missions were

[1] Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 3662.

established at many points on the south bank of the river. In the year 1739 an official of the Dutch West India Company, Nicolas Horstman, was dispatched with a well-found party up the Essequibo to explore and investigate the state of affairs in the interior. He made his way by the Rupununi and the Pirara portage into the river Mahú. Here the greater part of his native followers left him and returned, but Horstman with the rest went on, and at the mouth of the Rio Branco was made prisoner by the Portuguese. He later entered the Portuguese service. At Pará he met the French scientific explorer, De la Condamine, to whom he gave a detailed report of his journey and a sketch-map to illustrate it. These were taken by De la Condamine to Paris, and were used by the famous cartographer, D'Anville, in his map of South America, 1748. It was this report and map that gave to the Portuguese their first knowledge of the tributaries and upper waters of the Rio Branco, and the route, which had already been used for upwards of a century by the Dutch factors or traders from the Essequibo. From 1740 onwards several Portuguese voyages up the Rio Branco are recorded, but none of them appear to have advanced as far as the mouth of the river Parima, until that of a Lieutenant Diniz in 1766. But during this period we find again evidence from Portuguese sources of the continued activity in this region of the Dutch.

At last a definite step was taken. In 1774 the Portuguese learnt from a Dutch official, described as a "deserter," that the Spaniards were establishing themselves on the river Parima (or Uraricoera), and in consequence of this information a Portuguese fortified post, known as Fort São Joaquin, was erected in 1776 at the point of junction of the river Parima with the river Takutú (i.e. at the highest point of the Rio Branco) to guard against attacks from the Spaniards by the Parima, and of the Dutch along the Takutú. Thus for the first time in 1776 the whole of the Rio Branco became a Portuguese possession. The result of this act

was the treaty of 1777, which definitely settled the boundaries between Spain and Portugal in South America, and in 1781 an official survey was made by two Portuguese officers of the Savannah country lying to the north of Fort São Joaquin. All attempts, however, by the Portuguese to establish Indian settlements on the Rio Branco failed, and in the years which followed the occupation of the Dutch Colony of Essequibo by the British in 1796, Fort São Joaquin, though not abandoned, remained an isolated frontier post to mark the extreme northern limit of the Portuguese possessions in the Amazonian basin.

The stress of the Napoleonic wars and the very close relations of friendship between Great Britain and Portugal, during that period and the years that followed the passing of the Dutch Colony of Essequibo into a possession of the British Crown, in 1815, caused the attention of both countries to be directed to more important matters than the limits of their jurisdiction in the remote Savannahs of Guiana. The declaration of Brazilian independence in 1822, in the achievement of which British diplomacy took an active part, followed ; and this left the Brazilians for some time too much occupied with domestic politics to trouble about their far-away and neglected outpost at São Joaquin.

Missionary enterprise was the cause of the revival of the dispute in an active form. The elaborate survey of the district made by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Schomburgk, first in 1836, when for some time he made his headquarters at Pirara ; and again, in 1838, when he resided by permission for several months at São Joaquin, no doubt had already aroused the interest of the Brazilian authorities, as to whether those surveys might not be a preliminary to an encroachment on their territory. However this may be, Mr. Youd, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, established himself in 1838 at Pirara : a house and chapel were built, and soon a flourishing village of Macusi Indians marked the success of his labours. He was not

left undisturbed. In May, 1839, a body of Brazilian troops occupied Pirara and ordered Mr. Youd to withdraw. In July Schomburgk reported what had taken place to the British Government, and urged them to assert their lawful claim to the line of the Takutú and Cotinga rivers. In November, 1840, Schomburgk was once more sent out with definite instructions to survey the whole boundary-line to the west and south of British Guiana; and the Brazilian Government were informed that "any encroachment on Pirara or upon the territories near the frontier would be resisted." Finding that the Brazilian troops were fortifying themselves in Pirara, the British Government determined to dispatch a military detachment up the Essequibo to assert their rights. On February 14, 1841, this detachment reached Pirara; the British flag was hoisted; and the Brazilians withdrew under protest, reserving all rights. On the proposal of the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Senhor Aurelio Continho, that

> "the neutrality of Pirara should be provisionally recognized and that the Indian tribes should remain independent and in exclusive possession of the territory until the definitive decision of the contested limits,"

the British Government decided, August, 1842, to withdraw their soldiers from Pirara. A succession of diplomatic notes followed, in which the Brazilian Government made extensive claims based on the treaties between Spain and Portugal, which had no bearing on the question; and finally the British Foreign Minister, Lord Aberdeen, although Schomburgk as the result of his completed survey had indicated the line of the rivers Takutú and Cotinga as the rightful boundary, offered, November, 1843, to accept the line of the rivers Takutú and Mahú. This offer was rejected and the Brazilian Government broke off negotiations; and from that date until the year 1888, the question of delimitation remained in abeyance. In the autumn of 1887 the British Government first heard of a Report, which had been drawn up by a mixed

Venezuelan and Brazilian Commission for the demarcation of their common boundary in Guiana. This Report had been already, in 1884, laid before the General Legislative Assembly at Rio by the Brazilian Foreign Minister, and was accompanied by a map, which wholly ignored British claims. This led to a special Commissioner (Mr., afterwards Sir Everard, im Thurm) being sent by the Governor of British Guiana to make personal inquiries on the spot, as to the proceedings of the Brazilian-Venezuelan Commission, and to report thereon. The whole question of the boundary was thus re-opened, and the negotiations, which had been broken off in 1843, were resumed. Baron Penedo, the Brazilian Minister in London, proposed to Lord Salisbury the appointment of a Mixed Commission to settle the boundary question. Lord Salisbury expressed in reply his desire for such a settlement, but declared that in the first instance a general agreement should be reached as to the limits of the disputed territory. But this preliminary agreement proved very difficult. The extreme British claim was the Schomburgk line, i.e. the territory enclosed by the rivers Takutú and Cotinga, but Lord Salisbury informally (September 13, 1891) informed Senhor Corréa, the Brazilian Minister in London, of the willingness of the British Government to accept the line along the Takutú and Mahú rivers, and again, in November, 1895, he repeated this offer. Not till March, 1897, did Brazil abate its extreme claim (of following the Paicaraima Mountains to the head-waters of the Mahú, and on to the Rupununi and then up that river as far as the 2nd degree of latitude, which was then to be followed eastward) by proposing the line of the watershed—a line which was quite unacceptable to Great Britain. In July, 1899, the Court of Arbitration at Paris, for determining the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, gave its decision in favour of the Schomburgk (Takutú-Cotinga) line as the southern frontier of the British Colony, but without prejudice to the claims of Brazil. Finally, as the result of

further negotiations, the British and Brazilian Governments agreed to submit the disputed boundary question to Arbitration; and a treaty was drawn up and signed, November 6, 1901, by which the King of Italy was invited to accept the duty of arbitrating between the claims to be laid before him by the two Parties. The King of Italy, as Arbitrator, gave his decision, June 15, 1904, and awarded the territory enclosed by the rivers Takutú and Mahú to Great Britain. This boundary Lord Aberdeen in 1843, and Lord Salisbury in 1891 and 1897, had expressed the willingness of the British Government to accept, as a fair and reasonable settlement of the British claim, inherited from the Dutch at the time of the cession of the Colony in 1815.

THE BIRTH OF AN AMERICAN STATE: GEORGIA:

An Effort of Philanthropy and Protestant Propaganda

By R. A. Roberts, V.P.R.Hist.S.

Read January 11, 1923.

Students of the history of the communities now established in a great Republic and a great Dominion on the northern continent of America have this advantage: that they can begin at the beginning of things, at a definite point or from a line drawn, so to say, in the open plain in the light of the full day. There is for them no search for the head-springs of the river in almost impenetrable fastnesses, no dim twilight before the dawn, no doubtful region of myth or tradition or biassed chronicle. A plain tale of truth and fact is there for their perusal from the first. And I suppose in the case of no one of the States which has a beginning before the Declaration of Independence is this more conspicuous than in the case of the last of them formed from overseas, Georgia, the subject of the present essay. The authentic materials are ready to hand in the Public Record Office in abundance: in State papers, in entry books of letters, in books of appointments and grants to settlers, in journals of trustees, in minutes of the Common Council, in proceedings of the president and assistants for the town and county of Savannah from 1741 onwards, and in a mass of original correspondence, memorials and the like.

But it is not from these sources in the main that the attempt now made to tell the story of the genesis of this State is based, but on the entertaining diary, equally authentic in its way, of one who played a great part, though not the greatest part, in this high and commendable under-

taking—the diary of the first Lord Egmont, from the year 1730 onwards, in course of publication among the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission. In this diary he has faithfully recorded, among many other matters, the part he took in this scheme, the events connected with it which came to his personal knowledge, and his views and opinions of the men associated with him in it. His part was not the greatest. That must be assigned to General Oglethorpe, with whom one is, on this occasion, however, only incidentally concerned, but it was second only to that of Oglethorpe, and wholly honourable and disinterested, prompted by motives of the best kind, and carried out with an assiduous attention to the business that commands admiration and respect.

Now his version of the story is rather that of the promoters of the scheme at a distance from the actual scene of operations than of the events and developments recorded by one on the spot. With regard to such promoters, there is often an enormous difference between the ideas in their minds—their plans and purposes—and the outcome in fact. All who have had the experience—sometimes disappointing, sometimes even bitter—of parents and guardians, full of rose-coloured visions of the future of offspring, know that men may propose, but seldom are permitted to dispose. The Devil sometimes seems to take a hand. So the sketch here drawn is somewhat analogous to that of the fond parent or guardian full of joy and enthusiasm at the first, dreaming of great things, of generous achievements, by the child of his affections, but meeting with some disappointment and disillusion in the actual results within the period of his own experience.

For the first suggestion that led to the founding of the State of Georgia one must look to the philanthropic activities of a body of men, men of influence and position, very different in character from those who now seem to us to have been the dominant, rather scandalous, personalities of the early eighteenth century. Of this more respectable and

to be respected body of religiously-minded men, of decent moral behaviour, Egmont was one, and Captain Coram, for example, another, and it is interesting to note that it also included a Shaftesbury, the fourth Earl, descendant of a famous forefather and himself ancestor of the greater philanthropist of that honoured name. These men were moved to the heart by the miseries of prisoners in the gaols, and particularly of prisoners for debt, and their activities appear in the investigations and recommendations of the gaol committees appointed by Parliament. These gaol committees and their operations might well repay study. But their practical result now to the point was the Act of the second session of the first parliament of King George II, passed in 1729 for the relief of insolvent debtors—a remedy almost worse than the disease in its immediate results, for it cast upon the unfriendly London streets a number of miserable wretches starving for want of employment. It was stated that the number relieved by the Act amounted to 10,000, among them 300 woollen manufacturers returned from Prussia.

In 1730, Lord Egmont, then Viscount Percival, an Irish peer, was member for Harwich, while Oglethorpe sat for Haslemere. On a certain day of February in that year, Percival and Oglethorpe met in the lobby of the House of Commons. Oglethorpe buttonholed Percival with a proposition to which Percival lent a sympathetic ear. Oglethorpe represented that he had discovered a very considerable charity, 15,000*l.*,—a legacy left by one King, a haberdasher, which lay in trustees' hands but was in danger of being lost for charity because the heir of the testator, who was one of the trustees, refused to concur with his co-trustees in any methods for disposing the money, cherishing the hope that as they were both seventy years old, they would soon die, and that then he, as surviving trustee, might apply it all to his own use. But the heir reckoned without fervent Oglethorpe, who, acting through the two honest, old men, desirous to be discharged of their burthen, succeeded, in

spite of the opposition of the heir, after an action at law, in lodging the money in the hands of a Master in Chancery pending the appointment of new trustees. The old trustees wished to have the trust annexed to one already in being. Such a trust, approved by them, was in being, of which Percival was a leading member, Mr. D'Alone's legacy of 1,000*l.* for the conversion of negroes. Oglethorpe's proposal now was that Percival should accept this new trusteeship in conjunction with himself and several of the Committee of Gaols, as Mr. Towers, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Holland, Major Selwyn, and some other gentlemen of worth like Mr. Sloper and Mr. Vernon, Commissioner of Excise. These, no doubt, are mostly but the empty names of unknown, departed shadows to us now, but the men who bore them carried respectable weight in their day and generation. Now for the scheme. It was agreed that 5,000*l.* of the 15,000*l.* should be devoted to procuring a number of acres either from the Government, or by gift or purchase in the West Indies, whereon to plant a hundred of the miserable wretches let out of gaol by the Act. This crude conception was one of the very first steps in the genesis of the State of Georgia.

Preliminaries may be passed over with brief notice, interesting in many respects as they are. Oglethorpe had long talks with Percival over the scheme, on one occasion lasting three hours and more; on another, calling Dean Berkeley into counsel, they sat in Percival's house in Pall Mall, from dinner at three or four o'clock until ten at night, discoursing about the project. Percival joined in, heart and soul. The scheme soon took definite shape in a petition to the King and Council for a grant of lands on the South-West of Carolina on which to settle poor persons of London. The Board of Trade reported in favour of it. It proposed that the undertakers or managers should have the government for twenty-one years of the people sent thither. Then followed the drafting of the charter—a matter of much consideration—and the task of overcoming objections raised here and there. The consent of Lord

Carteret was found to be necessary, as a proprietor of the province. He seems to have readily concurred. He would do what the King would do, his right to a seventh part of the lands and quit-rents being secured. So the settlement of the business of the scheme begun in 1730 pursued its somewhat slow course through the twelve months of the following year. By February of the next year, 1732, the charter was in form for the King's signature. But at this point the business stuck again, the King himself proving to be the obstacle, his objection turning upon a punctilio of prerogative. At this stage, after the lapse of a period of eighteen months without a definite result, it is not to be wondered at that those who had consented to assume the burden of trustees were much out of humour, and some of them were for flinging it up altogether. Even Percival himself, considerate as he was of the King's feelings, began to be uneasy. Talking to Horatio Walpole, Sir Robert Walpole's brother and right-hand man, he tells him—"We apprehended there was still a distrust that we sought our private advantage, whereas we had no view but serving the public, and I did not know how we came to be such knight-errants." The King, it appears, would not always sign papers when they were submitted to him, if he was not in the humour, and of the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, it was reported that he was of so timorous a nature that it took him some time to renew a request after a rebuff. But Percival himself was unwilling to force a conclusion as is evidenced in connexion with another charitable trust with which he was concerned—Dr. Bray's Associates for founding clerical libraries and supporting negro schools, a body which, I believe, had something to do with the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—so vigorous in its action to-day. The anniversary sermon of Dr. Bray's associates was this year, and under these circumstances, to be preached in Bow Church, and for it, Oglethorpe had secured "a very ingenious acquaintance of his, Mr. Burton, of Oxford." Thus

are great men spoken of ere they rise into fame. This was Dr. John Burton, of Corpus Christi College, the eminent classical scholar and divine. Percival, then, took occasion to urge that Dr. Burton in his sermon should say nothing reproachful of the Government for retarding the Georgia Charter. In the event, the sermon was preached, not at Bow Church, but at St. Bride's in Fleet Street, subsequently the religious headquarters, so to say, of the Georgia trustees. It was, in Percival's opinion, an excellent sermon—in favour of Christian education of youth, and of the conversion of negroes and savage Indians. The preacher showed the indispensable duty of kings and magistrates—from Scripture, reason and human policy—to take care of religion and further it in proper methods of educating youth, and towards the close spoke of the design to settle colonies in S. Carolina, handsomely commending the King for approving it. After the sermon, in order to digest it, the congregation —practically, it was the whole congregation—dined at "Brawn's" in the City. In the eighteenth century sermons on special occasions were almost invariably followed by a sustaining dinner, and it may be understood once for all, without further reference to the practice, that whether it was anniversary sermon or weekly meeting of trustees, there *was* a dinner at the partakers' own expense—at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, or the Horn Tavern, or the Cyder House, or the Thatched House, or elsewhere. Our ancestors, even of the straiter sect, were in this matter a genial people.

Finally, the King's scruples were met and the charter was signed on June 9, 1732, the Duke of Newcastle and others remitting the fees of their offices (amounting to some hundreds of pounds). It had now become an enterprise approved on all sides and enjoying popular favour, and the Trustees, Percival at their head for the first year, set seriously to work. First, there were the duties of politeness to fulfil. A company of the Trustees, seven in number, waited on Sir Robert Walpole, formally to thank him.

By agreement, Percival was the orator on the occasion, and this was his speech :

"Sir Robert, the gentlemen concerned in sending colonies to Carolina, are come to wait upon you, and return you their thanks on behalf of the public for your care and favour in dispatching their charter, and they hope for the continuance of your protection as often as they shall have occasion to apply to you."

Sir Robert's reply was, that he was glad we had obtained the charter, and wished we had it sooner. Percival answered, we knew it had not stuck with him. And then the deputation withdrew, to wait on my Lord Wilmington—but he was abroad—and another day had to be sought, when a larger company of them succeeded in finding him at home. Lord Wilmington promised his support and expressed a wish

"that the design might prove a pattern for all future new settlements in America, if such a number of gentlemen might be found who would give their service for nothing to the public."

Little did Lord Wilmington think that in the future procession of the world's events there would be no new settlements in America after this pattern, and little did he or any of his hearers forecast the revolutionary proceedings of a generation or so later.

Private charitable subscriptions began to flow in in response to the deputations which the trustees were authorized to issue for the collection of money. Mr. Scroop, Secretary to the Treasury, Recorder of Bristol, was one who received a deputation and exercised his powers under it in the western port, wishing that there had been one for the mayor and aldermen in general. Liverpool, too, responded ; clergymen appealed to their congregations successfully, while individuals also made generous gifts. But before anything effectual could be accomplished, it was clear that Parliament must make a substantial grant. The first step in the House of Commons in the effort to obtain it was taken

in May, 1732, but was unsuccessful. Upon petitions which had been presented complaining of the great abuses and mischief arising from vagrants and beggars having no settlement, a motion was grounded to address the King for a grant of 10,000*l.* to the trustees for transporting vagrants and beggars under sixteen years of age to S. Carolina and bind them apprentices to the masters sent over. Unexpected opposition, however, arose: it was urged in opposition that hands were wanted in England, and that to send vagrants under sixteen years old to America was bad for the public. So the House, although Sir Robert Walpole acquainted the members that the King had no objection to the scheme, and although they commended it in general, would not agree, and when later the committee of the whole House met to consider the petitions concerning the vagrants, the order of the day being called for, it was postponed for three weeks, with the effect that the matter was deferred till the following year.

The trustees, however, now began to hold regular weekly meetings, none of which Percival missed. They took a house for office quarters at 30*l.* a year in a street leading from Palace Yard to Millbank Ferry, now long swept away. They chose a secretary, one Mr. Benjamin Martyn, who offered his services *gratis* till they could afford to pay him a salary—

"a very ingenious young man who had written a tragedy which had had a great success on the stage, who had some employment under Government- a sober young man who out of his little maintained his mother and sisters."

And then there was Mr. Harman Verelst for accountant, who served the trustees assiduously and satisfactorily for many years, and painted the portraits of the trustees on a historic occasion. Then Percival recommended his co-trustees to lay their heads together in the making of laws for the Colony before business multiplied. One other proposal which commended itself to them is worth mention: to employ an ingenious person to reside in the Colony to

search out medicinal plants and roots, and to make experiments of grain to be planted there, and to instruct the Colony in agriculture. For this Lord Petre offered to subscribe 50*l.* annually, the Duke of Richmond 20*l.*, and Sir Hans Sloane 20*l.*

It was Percival's custom, like others in his position, to resort to Bath for the late summer months, and it was there in October, 1732, that he received intimation from Captain Coram that the trustees in his absence had resolved to send a small number of persons over and that Oglethorpe had volunteered to go with them as first governor. Returned to London, Percival attended a meeting on November 1, at which resolutions for carrying out this determination were passed, viz.: a civil government to be established in Georgia: the first town to be erected to be named Savannah: powers under seal to be entrusted to Mr. Oglethorpe: a surgeon and apothecary to go with the first settlers, and also Mr. Herbert, son to the late Lord Herbert of Cherbury, going as voluntary chaplain until a paid clergyman could be supported and found.

"Thus, I hope," confides Percival to his diary, "with the blessing of God, this noble, charitable, disinterested and profitable design to the nation will take root and flourish, having taken all possible care for its success."

Turn we now to the charter itself, and particularly to some of its features that inform and sustain the thesis set forth in the title of this essay. The preamble, as we might expect, founds the justification for the charter on the misfortunes and want of employment of the King's poor subjects and upon the belief that if they had means to defray the charge of passage and other expenses incident to new settlements, they would be glad to be settled in any of the King's provinces in N. America. This would have a double effect—so it was anticipated—relieve distress and at the same time help to defend the other provinces, frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more especially S. Carolina, laid waste in

a then recent war by fire and sword. The erection of a corporation for this purpose would, it was inferred, open the pockets of the King's loving subjects for so worthy an object. The trustees named in the charter were twenty-one in number, with power to add. Viscount Percival headed the list, and he was to be president for the first year. Among the others, most of them M.P.'s, were Edward Digby and James Oglethorpe, Esquires. There were five clergymen. The last name on the list is Thomas Coram, one of two who are not esquires but "gents." From the trustees, a body of Common Councilmen were to be chosen, with specified functions and bound by an additional oath. For the chairmanship, both of the Trustees and the Common Council, there was instituted a strict scheme of rotation. Both Trustees and Common Councilmen must act without fee or reward. The treasurer and secretary of the Corporation were incapable of being members of either body. The charter was limited in its operation to a period of twenty-one years, when its powers would revert to the Crown. The laws formulated must be confirmed by the Privy Council.

The Crown was exceedingly generous in the subject matter of its gift. What a donation it was!

"Seven undivided parts (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided) of all those lands counties and territories situate lying and being in that part of South Carolina in America which lies from the most Northern stream of a river there commonly called the Savanah, all along the sea coast to the Southward unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and Westward from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the South Seas. And all that space circuit and precinct of land lying within the said boundaries, with the islands in the sea lying opposite to the Eastern coast of the said lands within twenty leagues of the same, which are not already inhabited or settled by any authority derived from the Crown of Great Britain, together with all the soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulfs, and bays, mines, as well royal mines of gold and silver as other minerals and precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, as well

royal fishings of whale and sturgeon as other fishings, pearls, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, franchises, privileges, and preheminences within the said territories and the precincts thereof and thereunto in any sort belonging or appertaining . . . to be holden of us our heirs and successors as of our honour of Hampton Court in our county of Middlesex, in free and common soccage and not in capite, paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors yearly for ever the sum of four shillings for every hundred acres of the said lands which the said corporation shall grant, demise, plant or settle, the said payment not to commence until ten years after such grant, demise, planting or settling . . . in money or notes current . . . in the province of S. Carolina, all which lands . . . We do by these presents make erect and create one independent and separate province by the name of Georgia. . . . All persons inhabiting it to be free . . . not subject to the laws of S. Carolina save only the command-in-chief of the militia of Georgia to the Governor for the time being of South Carolina."

One other stipulation should be noted. It is this:

"And for the greater ease and encouragement of our loving subjects and such others as shall come to inhabit in our said colony, we do . . . grant establish and ordain that forever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all persons inhabiting . . . our said province, and that all such persons—except Papists—shall have a free exercise of their religion, so they be contented with the peaceable and quiet enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the government."

The area of the new Georgia erected by the Charter does not correspond with the area of the Georgia of the United States of America, as it afterwards became, and now is. It had a much narrower coast-line facing the Atlantic and ran up in a north-westerly direction till it reached the heads of the two rivers, but from those two undefined points there was a stretch, between parallel lines, of country the enormity of which makes one gasp—generous slices of the modern states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and whatever comes between Texas and Lower California,

right away to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, surely "some" province!

II

The kind of civil government to be established having been settled, and bailiffs, judge, recorder and other officers nominated, the next problem to be attacked was the supremely important one, that of the settlers themselves. It has already been indicated that there were to be no Papists, as being only spies: there were also to be no Jews; but as regards this particular decision, the Jew was too clever for the trustee; the Jew who wished to go, went. One, indeed, a certain de Lyon, proved himself a valuable man. Of the first settlers chosen an example or two will show the general character. There was a society of twelve potash makers in partnership, four of whom, with six servants, were first to go over, to whom 12,000 acres were granted. There was also a noted carpenter, once worth 10,000*l.*, but "who broke and honestly compounded with his creditors": he with four servants had 500 acres. Other poor persons came along, but the trustees put them through a strict cross-examination, and rejected several who were able to earn their bread in England: the trustees had a care not to send any who did not satisfy them that they had the permission of their creditors and that they were not running away from their wives and families to leave them a burthen on the parish. On one occasion when thirty applicants appeared, the trustees rejected all but four. On another they passed eight sawyers, miserable objects, one of whom had, for sickness, been forced to sell his bed, and another his tools to pay his debts. Of such as these were that first company of settlers who sailed from Gravesend in the ship *Ann*, Captain Thomas commander, under the charge of Mr. Oglethorpe on a memorable day, the 16th of November, 1732, some 114 souls in all, "forty able, sensible men, the rest women and children." Several

of the trustees were at Gravesend to see them off. They called over the people, made a strict inquiry into their accommodation and provisions and left "them very well satisfied."

Before pursuing the subject of the settlers who went subsequently, let us see how this little band of people fared, the first to land on the banks of the Savannah River, the first inhabitants of Savannah City.

Letters from Mr. Oglethorpe and others reached the trustees in April, 1733. The news was good—a safe arrival —none dead on the voyage save two children under three months old—all in good spirits save ten, down of the bloody flux, occasioned by the cold and lying under tents. I must quote from Oglethorpe's letter, written from the camp at Savannah on the 10th of February, 1732/3. Thus is the tale told:

Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th January where I lodged them in some new barracks built for the soldiers whilst I went myself to view the Savannah River. I fixed upon a healthy situation about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms a half moon, along the south side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country five or six miles, and along the riverside about a mile. Ships that draw twelve feet of water can ride within ten yards from the bank. Upon that riverside, in the centre of this plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage which, I think, should be kept for the trustees' cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee which forms the mouth of the river, [and] for about six miles up into the country. The landskip is very agreeable, the stream being wide and bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the 1st of February; at night their tents were got up. Till the 7th we were taken up in unloading and making a crane, which I then could not get finished, so took off the hands and set some to the fortification and began to fell the woods. I have marked out the town and common. Half of the former is already cleared, and the first house begun

yesterday in the afternoon. A little Indian nation, the only one within fifty miles, is not only at amity but desirous to be subjects of H.M. King George, to have lands given them among us, and to breed their children at our schools. Their chief and his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian religion.

That letter, written almost two centuries ago, must excite emotion even at this distance of time. It will require little effort of imagination on our part to take our places by Oglethorpe's side on the bluff, "high as the Earl of Orkney's seat in Berkshire"—as Percival records it—and to enter into his feelings as he viewed the landscape o'er. Swelling hopes animated his breast. Here was new opportunity for the miserable and despairing; here was clean living, freedom of conscience (within limits), a refuge from persecution—in a charming, virgin, opulent country-side. Alas, alas! ten years later the prospect was not so pleasing. True, new settlers had followed upon the old; Savannah was not now the only settlement which called itself a town. There were Frederica and Darien, or New Inverness, and Thunderbolt and Hampstead and Highgate (New and Old), Ebenezer, Augusta, and Amelia; but the colony of Georgia, nevertheless, was in a parlous condition; the neighbouring province, South Carolina, which had been more than friendly at the first, hostile; Oglethorpe himself, broken down in health and not popular in the Colony, and the trustees of the Charter at home, notwithstanding their manifest disinterestedness and the assiduous labours of some of them in a good cause, divided among themselves, badgered in Parliament, and the objects of popular suspicion and scandalous attacks in print. But Percival—Earl of Egmont as he now was—though heavy of heart, stuck to his job, through good and ill fame, even when the zeal of fellow-labourers cooled, in a manner to excite admiration. The causes of this set-back in the progress of the colony are to be found, partly, in the character of certain of the settlers themselves. Mr. Whitefield, in a farewell sermon, did not

mince his words about them: the wonder is that the congregation took it so meekly. He told the Savannah people that they were the scum of the earth, and God had only sent them to prepare the way for a better set of men.

But they also lay in the unscrupulous greed of traders, and in the struggles over the rum trade and the negro question—against the introduction of whom into the scheme of the Colony, Oglethorpe on the spot, and Egmont and the trustees at home, put up strenuous and continued resistance, though they were ultimately defeated.

But this is anticipating events, and indeed referring to a period scarcely within the scope of the present essay.

And these ill conditions, so loudly and universally deplored, must not be taken too seriously. "Poor deserted Georgia," the community for whom few could then be found to speak a favourable word, did not die but live—to become, as it is to-day, a great and flourishing State which in its childhood had its ailments and accidents, its cutting of teeth, convulsive fits and attacks of measles; to survive them all and grow up into virile strength.

III

Recurring to the subject of the first settlers in Georgia, one of the earliest schemes, which does not seem to have materialized owing to opposition in Parliament, was to take vagrants from the London parishes and to bind them as apprentices to invalid soldiers who were to be sent to Georgia with a Government allowance—a scheme with which members at the first, including Sir Robert Walpole and the Speaker, were extremely well pleased. But opposition arose on two grounds, (1) that hands were wanted in England, and that it was a bad scheme for the public to send boys under sixteen to America, and (2) that it was a dangerous example so near the end of the session of Parliament, to dispose of public money. The matter therefore dropped. Later on, in 1737, when the colony was established but was threatened with the hostilities of the Spaniards in

Florida, there was a proposal from the parish of St. Giles, that the trustees should send out fifty children, for whom the parish would contribute 3*l.* per head—the boys to be bound till the age of twenty-two, the girls till eighteen, after which the boys were to have fifty acres of land and the girls, I presume, expected to marry—anyhow, there is nothing said about land for them—but Percival himself was against it, on the ground that it was not justifiable to transport poor children, most of them without parent or friend, and at an age when they could not defend themselves, and specially at a juncture when the Spaniards were still purposing to attack the colony. The scheme, I imagine, was dropped.

Of the early, grown-up settlers in general, the bulk, a few experts excepted, were of three sorts—poverty-stricken, unemployed, broken-down Englishmen; German and Swiss Protestants, equally poor, perhaps, but primarily seeking refuge from persecution, and religious freedom; and, at a later period, Scotch Highlanders sent for a special purpose, military defence.

Of the first contingent under Oglethorpe's leadership, himself eager to go over although there was as yet no public money to support the enterprise but private subscriptions only, in addition, that is, to the 5,000*l.* from King, the deceased haberdasher's legacy, I have already spoken. With the choice of these, Percival had little to do. They included one volunteer, an able engineer, going generously to erect the fort it was designed to build. But in the selection of settlers afterwards Percival took a leading part. The Trustees set their faces against Papists and Jews, and deputations to Jews to collect money were recalled. The reasons against sending Jews seem to have been a matter of prejudice chiefly. Percival notes: "The report of our sending Jews has prevented several from subscribing to us." Of the superior type of settler, a certain Mr. Penkerton on half pay, with three servants—the master with a grant of 300 acres, the servant one of twenty-five acres

when out of his time—is an example. Sir Francis Bathurst, with his son, a boy of sixteen, and two daughters, fortified by a gift of 100*l.* from his kinsman, Lord Bathurst, is another.

Summarily, on this head of the English settler, their character is defined in a conversation Percival had with Mr. Winnington, M.P., who demurred against a grant of public money, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P.:

"There is no danger," said Percival, "of our depriving England of useful hands, for those we have sent, and shall send, are a sort of middle poor—decayed tradesmen, or supernumerary workmen in towns and cities, who cannot put their hands to country affairs or are too proud to do it, and being ruined or eating up one another by the multiplicity of workmen of the same trade, if they remain, fall a charge on their parishes."

Sir Wilfrid, now joining in the conversation, said he was afraid we should send useful hands away, and several counties wanted inhabitants.

"I answered, we took particular care of that, but we must send some English with foreigners, or else the English Government there might be in danger."

He owned it, and said we ought to have at least eight English to two Salzburgers. But as to taking away useful hands, though we were careful at present not to do it, yet when the province was settled and flourishing numbers would go.

"I answered, they would not go without lands and none could have them without we granted them. . . . But supposing numbers did go hereafter, it is no more than the subject, by the laws of England, is now allowed to do, to go to all our other plantations."

This exposition of English opinion at that time with regard to emigration is of some interest.

Of the second kind of settlers, from the continent of Europe, there were, first, certain experts, as the Amatis, from Savoy. The second brother, the other having already gone to Georgia, arrived early in 1733 in England with seven

companions, well skilled in the silk manufacture, and one of them an expert in making their machines, tools, etc. There were some difficulties at first about these people which Sir Thomas Lamb, Alderman of London, the great "alagoziner," helped to solve. Amati's demands were comparatively high —25*l.* a year for four years for himself and his servant, a house for himself, 100 acres of land for himself, and fifty for his servant—with other lesser requests, which were all granted. Great hopes were founded on the silk manufacture to be established in Georgia—and one suit of clothes did, anyhow, came out of it for Queen Caroline, formally presented to her by Mr. Oglethorpe and Sir Thomas Lamb in the summer of 1735, and pronounced to be preferable to Piedmontese. But possibly this pronouncement was that of one "to its virtues very kind, and to its faults a little blind." I do not know.

But the main bodies of foreign Protestant settlers consisted first of the "poor persecuted people," the Protestants of Salzburg, for whom sympathy in England ran so high that between 3,000*l.* and 4,000*l.* had been collected for their relief. A number of these families were sent out in 1733 and others followed later. With the first contingent went a Mr. Ortman, a German, to teach the children to read and write. Then there were Piedmontese, already assembled in 1733 in great want in Rotterdam, Protestants, of course, specially valuable as understanding the manufacture of silk and planting of vines. Georgia was not meant to be a "dry" colony, though there was a very strong objection to the trade in rum. Viticulture and wine production was intended to be a staple industry. Views, however, differed as to the drinkableness of the wine produced. It did not suit all palates.

Failing certain Salzburgers, who declined going over, there was negotiation with Vaudois. But of the foreign Protestants none seemed to have equalled in character and success the Moravians who come into the picture in the autumn of 1734. Their first approach through the medium

of the S.P.C.K., without previous notice to the Trustees, was not welcomed. " A lot of enthusiasts, the descendants of the ancient Hussites, who having been miserably persecuted by the Papists, are now under the protection of Baron Zinzendorf, himself an enthusiast who, though a layman, preaches. They desired only land and that we would defray the charges of their passage, intending to convert the Indians and relying on Providence." The Trustees endeavoured to stop their coming in the first instance, " for there is no knowing," comments Egmont, " how to manage enthusiasts who take it in their head that everything that comes uppermost is the immediate impulse of the Spirit of God." He changed his opinion of the Moravians later, with good reason. They were, however, stopped for the time being, but not for long. It was at this moment that fifty Swiss families made their appearance in Holland intending to embark for England in hopes to be sent to Georgia. On their behalf the King himself intervened and provided the money necessary to send them over in January of 1735. With these Swiss, went ten Moravians, with a minister of their own, the first contingent.

Two or three months later the Trustees came to an agreement with Count Zinzendorf for others of his people to follow, and when in July, 1735, it was resolved to establish a new settlement, subsequently named Frederica, on the river Allatamaha, among the miscellaneous crowd of emigrants, 578 souls in all—Highlanders, English, Carinthians and Austrians, Palatines, Swiss Grisons (for servants)—there were also forty men and fifteen women and children of Count Zinzendorf's Moravians.

These numbers were added to from time to time. Distinguished testimony was later borne to them that they were the most laborious, cheapest workers and best subjects in Georgia, and by another, " the most pious and perfect Christians he ever saw or read of since the Apostles' times." But there was a little fly in the amber from the Trustees' and the Colony's point of view : they were " conscientious

objectors," and when hostile designs were shown by the neighbouring Spaniards in 1737, they declared they could not in conscience fight and must leave the country if expected to do so. The Trustees were anxious to meet their scruples and proposed, as a compromise, that the two townships should only be required, each to send one man, who need not be a Moravian, but only paid by them; that compulsion would not be applied; and that if this was not satisfactory, they should have leave to withdraw.

With Count Zinzendorf himself Egmont came into personal contact early in 1737. The Count was paying a visit to England, and they met as fellow-guests at Oglethorpe's dinner-table.

"He is," notes Egmont, "a very plain dressed man, though rich, and had a bob wig: no sword, and a purple cloth coat on, I suppose because in priest's orders, for I have heard he preaches, for which reason the Emperor has expelled him his country. He and his people are most remarkably pious; himself an excellent scholar. His modesty, humility and innocence of manners charmed me."

Of all the settlers in Georgia, it would seem that the Moravians were the only ones who had primarily no material interests to serve. They went, not because they lacked substance at home, but to carry out missionary enterprise. I will add but one more piece of evidence showing their honest dealing. The Trustees had advanced to them the sum of 296*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* By June, 1738, this was repaid, partly by labour, partly by money, to within 3*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* of the total —a balance which it is not to be wondered at the Trustees remitted, delivering up the Moravians' bonds.

IV

When in June, 1734, after rather more than twelve months' stay in the new Colony, Oglethorpe returned to England, he brought with him a party of visitors, unusual then, though not the first of the kind to come over, who most assuredly did excite general interest and curiosity.

These were the chief of a small Indian tribe from the neighbourhood of Savannah, the Yamacraws, his wife, his chief warrior, his young grand-nephew and successor-to-be and five attendants. The avowed objects of their visit were to learn English and the Christian religion and to confirm the peace made with their tribe and the eight nations, their allies, in the previous year. The chief, Tomachichi by name, was an old man of ninety, sensible and cunning. Of his sensibleness and cunning, in its meaning of shrewdness, Egmont notes some instances.

Of their dress and appearance when they were brought from on board ship and lodged not very sumptuously in the garrets of the Georgia Board Office in that slummy lane turning out of the street leading from Old Palace Yard to Millbank Ferry, there is this description :—

"They are all brisk and well trimmed people and would make a good appearance in our habits, but they dress themselves fantastically, will not put on breeches and wear the shirts we gave them over their covering which is only a skin that leaves their breasts and thighs and arms open, but they wear shoes of their own making of hides that seem neat and easy."

Not many days were allowed to elapse before the visitors were provided with new clothes—by whom designed I know not, but this was the pattern and manner of them :—

"The King's, a fine scarlet bainan or well shaped frock, without slits because they wear no breeches. It is edged everywhere with rabbits' fur, white, and has a gold galloon lace down the edges. The others are of like make, only blue. The Queen's was a sort of scarlet rosetti in the make of our English wrappers."

Now began for them a round of sightseeing and hospitality, one of the King's coaches being set apart for their conveyance from place to place. But first, there was the formal introduction and interview with the Trustees, of which a picture was afterwards painted by Mr. Verelst, the trustees' accountant, who added to his accomplishment in the way of figures, the art of figure painting and portraiture,

the trustees each sitting for their faces in turn. I wonder whether that painting still exists and, if so, where it is! I have not been able to pursue this inquiry. At this interview, Tomachichi at the lower end of the table, his companions supporting him, made a formal speech, interpreted from time to time. Egmont, in the chair, it happening to be his turn, answered him paragraph by paragraph.

"After this we all rose and took each of them by the hand, which I saw delighted them, and then we called for wine and tobacco to entertain them."

The hospitality offered to them began with the King, but even before that the poor things began to suffer. One caught the smallpox, but under Sir Hans Sloane's care was like to do well. The others fell sick by reason of their confinement, so different from their usual manner of life, but by bleeding and vomiting were recovered. One, the king's cousin, died. They all sat up, in that garret in the Millbank quarter, crying and bewailing his loss. However, they were very well satisfied with their audience at Court. Tomachichi's account of it was that they carried him through a great many houses (he meant rooms) to make him believe the king's palace consisted of many, but he was much surprised to find he returned by the same stairs he went up, by which he found it was still one house. He added a shrewd remark, repeated afterwards in the same sense though not in the same form :—

"he found we knew a great many more things than they, but he doubted if we were happier, since we are worse livers than they, and they more innocent."

Their next visit was to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the aged Dr. John Potter. With His Grace they were extremely pleased, although beforehand, thinking him a conjurer, they were in a state of trepidation, but his kind reception of them put them at their ease. His Grace wished to question them about their notions of religion, but they

refused to answer, having a superstition that it was unfortunate to disclose their thoughts of those matters. Indeed, they attributed the death of their comrade to their too-free speech on these subjects since their coming over. The old Archbishop, out of respect to his visitors, refused to sit down, though so weak as to require the support of two servants throughout the interview. Tomachichi, observant that the Archbishop was in pain, with ingenuous consideration, refrained from delivering his prepared speech, saying he would speak it to the Archbishop's two servants, meaning Dr. Linch, then Dean of Canterbury, the Archbishop's son-in-law, and the other clergyman present.

On the following day, Egmont himself was their host at his summer residence at Charlton, near Blackheath. On this occasion, Egmont did his best to divert them, walked them into the wood and had music and dancing; also making them presents. They behaved with great decency, and the Chief, when asked what dish he would be served with, replied, "Whatever was set before him." Egmont notes at length what he learned of their habits of life, their customs and beliefs. Their modesty was very great, a quality which he establishes by an incident I must not quote. When they went upon the water, the Thames, that is, they heard some of the rude multitude swear. They told Mr. Verelst, "This was very naughty." Egmont thought, after reciting their virtues and beliefs, that there were great hopes of making the nation Christian, if only the spirit of revenge could be rooted out and they could be convinced of the impropriety of having a multiplicity of wives. Old Tomachichi himself was, however, a monogamist, though his wife, in Egmont's view, was an old and ugly creature.

In one particular these Indian visitors were of similar mind to the people of U.S.A. of to-day: they desired that the selling of rum should be forbidden.

Later, they went to Cannons on the invitation of the Duke of Chandos. If I may slightly misquote Pope—

"At Timon's villa, they, too, passed a day,
Where all cry out, what sums are thrown away."

They dined with the Duke, and when Mr. Oglethorpe asked Tomachichi what he liked best there, his unexpected but polite reply was, "the Duke's countenance."

He was shown a picture there of Adam newly created with the beasts of the field around him, and being asked how he liked it, answered, "Very well, but their tradition was that Adam was a red man." The word Adam in Hebrew signifies "red earth," sapiently remarks Egmont.

The Trustees took pains to arrive at a just knowledge of the conditions of these Indian tribes and the relations of the white settlers in trade with them, etc. They brought to light some abuses and some matters of fraudulent trading.

These unusual visitors set out to return home early in November. Mr. Oglethorpe went on board ship with them to bid them "good-bye," and asking the old Chief whether he was not rejoiced to return to his own country, received this answer: "That he was glad to go home, but to part with Oglethorpe was like the day of death." This was universally regarded as an "elegant" speech, especially since it was "off-hand." Might it not have been said of the old man, that although he had not included Ireland in the circuit of his travels, he had undoubtedly kissed the Blarney stone?

V

There are other features and lines of development in the early history of Georgia which for a complete account ought to be delineated, and particularly one required to sustain the thesis set forth in the title of this essay, namely, the measures taken to provide for the religious needs of the settlers and to further missionary enterprise among the Indians and negroes. The exigencies of the present time and place, however, admit only of some desultory remarks on this head and a general statement or two.

In considering this branch of the subject, we meet with three of the biggest figures of English Evangelical propaganda, those whom the late Prime Minister, in a speech made shortly after retirement from office, affirmed to be an English contribution to the wealth of America far exceeding our monetary debt to that country at this moment—immense as it is.

And not with these only, but with others of less note and certainly less usefulness. The first, a volunteer, Mr. Herbert, son of the first Baron Herbert of Cherbury of the second creation, soon returned to England and shortly afterwards died. His successor, a Mr. Quincy, was unsatisfactory and was soon dismissed. Then were brought to the knowledge of the Trustees the two Wesleys, but their names at this first acquaintance conveyed nothing to the Board beyond the fact that here were two young gentlemen, one of them a clergyman bred at the University, who were moved to go to Georgia out of a pious design to convert the Indians. Nor did the Board's early experiences of the two brothers tend to much satisfaction, though when their intention was first made known, Egmont piously reflects, "I take this sudden resolution of the four gentlemen as a particular providence and mark of God's favour to our designs." There were, it should be explained, two others besides the Wesleys, one of whom failed at once; having married a wife, it turned out that he could not come—or go.

Both the Wesleys accompanied Oglethorpe on his second journey, and when news was received of their safe arrival at their journey's end, it is to be inferred that it was with consenting and hope-inspired minds that the Trustees listened to the anniversary sermon at St. Bride's Church of Mr. Watts, preacher at Lincoln's Inn, on the text, "He maketh the wilderness a standing water, and watersprings of a dry ground, and there he setteth the hungry that they may build them a city to dwell in, that they may sow their land and plant vineyards to yield them fruits of increase"—and dined together afterwards.

But Charles Wesley did not remain long on this first occasion. He returned towards the end of 1736 ; and presently, after the arrival of the first happy accounts of the effective ministrations of John Wesley, he, too, came home to meet certain complaints and charges brought against him, in which his dealings with a Mrs. Williamson bulked largely. The Trustees were fair-minded men and would not condemn anyone unheard. It was before John Wesley's reappearance in England that Lord Egmont sets down this reflection in his diary :—

" It appears to me that he was in love with Mrs. Williamson before she married, and has acted indiscreetly with respect to her, and perhaps with respect to others, which is a great misfortune to us, for nothing is more difficult than to find a minister to go to Georgia who has any virtue or reputation."

When John Wesley arrived he had immediate and prolonged interviews with the Trustees, in which he, no doubt, vindicated himself, but when, in the end, he left his licence with them at a meeting of the Board which he attended, they took it for a resignation and revoked his commission. They were worried men, and Egmont's note—

" In truth, the Board did it with great pleasure, he appearing to us to be a very odd mixture of a man, an enthusiast and at the same time a hypocrite, wholly distasteful to the greater part of the inhabitants and an incendiary of the people against the magistracy "

is perhaps the outburst of a worried mind.

It was at this juncture that George Whitefield came upon the scene, but his labours in Georgia belong to a period beyond the present purview. He, too, appeared before the Trustees as a little known " young man of Oxford, about 25 years old " when he came to see them one afternoon after dinner. Egmont seems to have got nearer to him than he did to the Wesleys. Obligingly on one occasion, Whitefield pitched his table just outside one of the windows of Egmont's residence at Charlton and preached from there

to the assembled crowd, thus enabling Lord and Lady Egmont and their friends—invited for the purpose—to observe him closely and hear him clearly and in comfort. Afterwards he was hospitably entertained within doors, and set forth at length to Egmont himself his doctrine of "the new birth," brought down to their true dimensions the extraordinary stories current about himself, and explained the origin, and knocked the bottom out of the report—a report then so damaging and scandalous—that he allowed a woman to preach.

Into this part of the subject would also come the quarrel of the Trustees with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the dispute over the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, in which Egmont was moved to say many hard things. But these matters must be dismissed with a mention only.

VI

The partial review of the early history of Georgia presented in this essay has covered but a short period, roughly about five years, and has been made from the angle of vision of one of its promoters at home in England, but the hope is entertained that it has been made clear that these promoters had for their aims and objects what the title affirms—that is to say, that they had disinterestedly in view philanthropic ends combined with Protestant propaganda or, to modify the last two words, missionary zeal.

At the end of this period of five years, the Colony, notwithstanding all the set-backs, had grown up into a certain strength and solidity of body and had assumed a more militant and combative face. It is fitting, therefore, that the last glimpse of its affairs presented on this occasion should be one which is taken from the windows of a hostelry in Holborn, the White Hart. To it, Oglethorpe had invited his fellow trustees shortly before his going out in military command of the forces of S. Carolina and Georgia. He had provided a very elegant dinner. His invited guests did not

all come, to his disappointment, but Egmont was there and some others, and from the windows of the inn they watched the spectacle of Oglethorpe's reinforcing regiment pass by on its way through the City to Sussex, and ultimately to Georgia—" never a finer set of young fellows, all under thirty years old," and like the thousands of their modern congeners on the way to a far sterner task, who have passed before the bodily eyes of spectators now living and raised emotions in their hearts, these eighteenth-century soldiers, too, " marched gaily."

THE SYSTEM OF ACCOUNT IN THE WARDROBE OF EDWARD I

By Charles Johnson, M.A., F.S.A.

Read March 8, 1923.

The Wardrobe.

The word "Wardrobe" has associations for the modern historian which he will find very misleading if he takes them back to the end of the thirteenth century. Even at the beginning of the reign of Edward I, the Wardrobe included all the Household departments (i.e. those called in modern times by the names of the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse), and besides these the Household troops, and something more or less corresponding to the Army Clothing Department. Towards the end of the reign, when everything was on a war footing, it comprised the War Office and the Admiralty as well. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that it included all the spending departments except the Office of Works. It thus controlled a very large number of sub-departments, some of which acquired administrative independence in the following reign, in the Treasurership of Walter de Stapledon.

Materials.

Enrolled Accounts.

The materials at our disposal are of two kinds. The best series of accounts left to us consists of the final accounts presented to the Exchequer for audit, and enrolled there as audited on the Pipe Roll and its duplicate the Chancellor's Roll. These correspond very closely with the Appropriation Accounts which modern departments render to Parliament, in the person of its officer the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and were subjected to close scrutiny in order to make sure that all receipts were accounted for, and all

payments duly warranted.[1] The balance against the accountant could then be recovered from him by process of law, or, if he were dead, from his executors. Similarly any balance due to him could be assigned upon any branch of the royal revenues. His successor did not take over his liabilities or claims; only the cash actually in the treasury of the Wardrobe.

Wardrobe Books

But these enrolled accounts took a long time to draw up, and the Wardrobe itself had, of course, its own annual accounts which it submitted to audit, and from which the enrolled accounts were prepared. These were presumably finished as shortly as possible after the close of the years with which they respectively dealt. A well-developed example of these will be found in the Wardrobe Book for the twenty-eighth year of Edward I, printed by the Society of Antiquaries in 1787, and edited by John Topham, under the title of *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*. They are similar in arrangement to the enrolled accounts, but in much greater detail, the several payments and receipts being distributed under sub-heads, under each of which they are arranged more or less chronologically. The object of the account is the same as that of modern departmental accounts, to record the actual receipts and expenses for the year, assigning each item to its proper sub-head without regard to the way in which the receipts were taken or the payments made. They correspond approximately to the Private Ledger of a mercantile house, rather than to an analysed cash-book, and accounts are kept both of money and of stock. We shall have to consider the various sub-heads in some detail later on.

and Rolls.

The Wardrobe Book, though the most familiar, was not the original form in which the annual account was presented. There is good evidence that the first year for which a Book was made up was the fifteenth

[1] A list of these will be found in P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, Vol. XI, List of Foreign Accounts.

year of Edward I, while William de Luda was Keeper of the Wardrobe and William de Marchia Controller. At all events the treasury at the Tower contained, in 24 Edward I, books for the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth years of the reign, two for each year.[1] One of these was kept on behalf of the Keeper of the Wardrobe and the other on behalf of the Controller. These books seem, at first at all events, to have been made up in sections and bound up afterwards, since a payment is recorded in 27 Edward I to Thomas de Neuport, bookbinder, of London, of 3*s*., for binding the Wardrobe Books of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years.[2] It is possible that the books for the fifteenth to eighteenth years were placed in the Treasury as duplicates not needed for current business, since we find examples as late as the eighteenth year of the pairs of rolls which they ultimately replaced.

Before the books came into being, each of the more important sub-heads of expenditure had a roll, or rather a roll and a counter-roll to itself. The Receipts were grouped together on one pair of rolls, and several minor sub-heads on another pair. This duplication of rolls seems to begin with the accounts for the thirteenth year, and seems likely to be due to William de Marchia, who succeeded Thomas Gunneys (d. August 15, 1283) as controller. These rolls, like the books which succeeded them, were presented at the Exchequer to substantiate the Wardrobe account.

Behind the books or rolls are the materials from which they were compiled, of which we have numerous specimens. They are mainly of two kinds, viz. (1) Rolls of Parcels of Account (*Particule Compoti*) showing the accounts for the year, or for some shorter period, of a sub-accountant, with which we may class Tradesmen's Bills; and (2) Cash Books and other cash records of the Cofferer of the Wardrobe, or of other Wardrobe Clerks employed on the King's business and receiving and paying money

Parcels Bills.

[1] *See* Accts., etc. (Exch.), 353/30, and *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 349.
[2] *See* Accts., etc. (Exch.), 356/8.

on the Wardrobe account. Both these classes of documents will be found, as a rule, to have the entries cancelled, either by striking through or by underlining, to indicate that they have been duly posted to their proper accounts in the Wardrobe book or elsewhere. Thus, to give a concrete example, we have an account of Henry the Almoner for the feeding of poor people from November 20, 28 Edward I, to the following Easter (Accts., etc. [Exch.], 357/29) which forms the first part of the Title "Elemosina" in the Wardrobe Book of the same year (*Lib. Quot.*, pp. 16–20). In the same way we have a large number of membranes (Accts., etc., 357/21 and 22) which seem to be part of a roll, presumably the cofferer's Cash account, containing daily expenses and marked off as posted. These will be found charged to the proper accounts in the Wardrobe Book. There are similar cash accounts for other clerks (e.g. Peter de Colingeburn) for receipts and payments of cash, similarly posted.

Cash Accounts.

It will easily be imagined that the collection and posting of all these details took a long time. In the Wardrobe Book of the twenty-eighth year we find that some of the accounts for the payment of soldiers were not brought in till August of the thirtieth year, nearly two years after the expenses were incurred (*Lib. Quot.*, p. 237). The account of William de Melton as Usher of the Wardrobe, for expenses of carriage of the wax and other necessaries (Accts., etc., 357/6), closing on February 11, A° 28, was not brought in till April 16, A°. 30 (*Ibid.*, p. 87). When such delay was inevitable in the presentation of accounts in the Wardrobe itself, it is not surprising that even longer delays took place before the final audit in the Exchequer could be completed. We know, for instance, that the Wardrobe Book for 27 Edward I was not handed in to the Exchequer till August, 8 Edward II, and then part of the Butlerage account was omitted (*L.Q.G.*, p. 356). It is probably for this reason that we have no enrolled account at all for the latter part of the Keepership of John de Drokensford (27–35 Edward I).

Professor Tout, in his *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History* (II, pp. 121–130) has given a vivid account of the financial confusion of the end of the reign of Edward I, and it would be otiose to repeat it here. It is enough to say that the Exchequer officials did not succeed in completing the audit till the eighth year of Edward III, five years after the death of Drokensford.[1]

Praestita.

The complication of the accounts, especially for the later years of the king, is augmented by the fact that money was scarce, and thus goods supplied and services rendered were frequently not paid for. There was consequently a vast system of book-keeping designed to show the state of account between the king and his various officers. All through the reign we find lists of "Praestita." These are of two kinds: cash advances or imprests on account of expenses to the various officers of the Household, and similar advances on account of wages. We have an interesting document showing the respective expenses incurred by, and amounts issued to the four main branches of the Household for the four years 29–32 Edward I, from which it appears that only about half of the goods purchased were actually paid for within this period (Accts., etc., 361/4). This, of course, is a summary prepared for purposes of audit, not a detailed statement of debts and payments. In like manner we have, for 29–30 Edward I, a leaf of a sort of personal ledger, showing the arrears of wages due to knights serving the king, and the imprests received by them on account (Accts., etc., 360/23 [m. 3]).

We are thus at no loss to understand why it is difficult to give any satisfactory account of the finance of the later years of Edward I. If the enrolled accounts had ever been made up, or if we had a complete set of Wardrobe books for the period, it would be possible to give a sufficiently accurate estimate of the balance of revenue and expenditure. We have instead a vast quantity of materials, much as

[1] Prof. Tout regards this as not at all certain, but his reasoning makes it at least extremely probable (*Ibid.*, pp. 129–9, *n*).

though the accounts of a modern business firm were found to consist of incomplete sets of cash books, invoices, and receipts. But though we cannot, at least without reconstructing the accounts, reach any certain figures, we can picture to ourselves the manner in which the Wardrobe did its work.

Purchases by Officers.

We may suppose the king to be arriving at a town in the course of his constant peregrinations about the country. Harbingers and purveyors precede him, to secure lodgings and to purchase the provisions for the Household. These may be paid for in cash, and if so the cofferer of the Wardrobe will issue the money needed to the clerks of the various departments, or to persons presenting bills under their seals. Very frequently, however, these officers will issue wooden tallies for what they buy, and these may or may not be honoured in cash. Possibly the Wardrobe may be moving on the next day, and have no money available to meet its expenses. In this case arrangements must be made for the ultimate payment of the tallies issued. A favourite method in such a case is to prepare an indenture of assignment on the sheriff of the county, or the mayor and bailiffs of the town, who will be instructed to meet the tallies and to set off what they thus pay against the next payment due from them to the king for farm or taxes. The indenture is in two parts, one of which remains at the Wardrobe, while the other is handed to the authority charged with the payment. When the payments have been made, the indenture is returned to the Wardrobe and compared with its duplicate. The items are examined and checked with the vouchers. The total is added up, and any necessary deductions made, as, for instance, when any of the debts have been already paid by the cofferer, or otherwise satisfied. A "Bill" or Wardrobe debenture is then issued for the net amount and handed to the authority, which can use it as cash in paying its own debts to the Exchequer.[1]

Wardrobe Bills.

[1] *See* Accts., etc. (Exch.), 362/1 and 2.

These Wardrobe "Bills" or "Debentures" were not limited to transactions of the kind described, they might be issued to satisfy quite small debts. They were also, like Exchequer tallies, negotiable instruments, and could be assigned by their holders to other persons in exchange for cash.[1] This is no doubt the reason why the seals, not only of the Keepers of the Wardrobe, but even of minor officers such as the Clerk of the Kitchen, are such masterpieces of delicate engraving.[2]

The Exchequer.

The method adopted for meeting these bills when presented at the Exchequer of Receipt is not unlike that in use at the present day. The King issued writs of *Liberate* directed to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer ordering them to pay a large sum, often £1,000, to the Keeper of the Wardrobe. All sums issued by virtue of such a writ, whether directly to the Keeper or to his order, were endorsed on the writ successively until the whole sum was paid, and a new writ had to be obtained. Since almost the whole of the national expenditure, except that on works, passed through the Wardrobe, the Issue Roll of the Exchequer recording the writs honoured was mainly taken up with the details of payment of one or two of these large writs. Thus, in place of the "Exchequer Liberate Roll" (now classed as an "Issue Roll") of the reign of Henry III, the next reign gives us the familiar two-column "Issue Roll," the first column of which is usually exclusively devoted to the Wardrobe. We can thus recover from the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer many of the details of Wardrobe expenditure for years of which we have no proper Wardrobe account.

It is not implied that the two-column Issue Roll developed from the "Liberate Roll." Mr. C. H. Jenkinson believes that it was originally a draft from which the single-column

[1] Such an assignment, dated 10 Edward II, will be found among the miscellaneous vouchers in Accts., etc. (Exch.) 362/18.

[2] See, for instance, the series of Wardrobe debentures with seals in the Museum of the Public Record Office.

Issue Roll, with payments in order of date, was made up.

Copies were made from the Issue Rolls of the payments in the Exchequer for the Wardrobe year, which ran, in the reign of Edward I, from the 20th to the 19th of November in each year, instead of from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, as in the Exchequer : and these Rolls are called the " Onus Garderobe " (*see* Accts., etc., 361/12) and are entered on the receipt side of the Wardrobe Book, of which we shall have more to say later.

Minor Cash Accounts and Bills.

For the moment we must return to the records of expenditure. We have spoken of the Cofferer's Cash Book,[1] or Books, and of the assignments of household debts. We have also separate rolls or books kept by other clerks of the Wardrobe, or even of the Chancery, employed at a distance from the place where the Wardrobe was, and occupied in buying corn or other stores, paying soldiers, or looking after smaller households, such as the Queen's, which were financed by the Keeper of the Wardrobe. The cash accounts of all these officers have to be brought in and the items posted to their proper ledger-headings. We shall find that in all the documents of this preliminary kind the entries are underlined as they are posted, and the accounts, when finished, struck through with a single line to indicate that all the items have been entered in the proper place. The same applies to tradesmen's bills, rendered from time to time by such persons as the king's fruiterer (Accts., etc., 353/3). These were checked at the Wardrobe and met by the issue of a debenture or by a payment in cash. The items were then entered under the proper ledger-headings. It must of course be remembered that the items in any one of these preliminary accounts may be chargeable to more than one year, and we often find marginal notes showing to which account and to which year they are posted.

[1] Some of these, kept by William de Corby, are entitled *Jornale Garderobe* and show receipts and issues, balanced daily (e.g. Accts., etc. 359/5 and 8; 361/13, 15, 16.).

Ledger Headings.

We may now consider in detail the various heads of receipt and expenditure which we find in the Wardrobe books. The enrolled accounts are made up in much the same way, but, as we have already said, the headings are not so clearly distinguished as in the books of the Wardrobe itself.

Receipts.

The first heading in the Wardrobe Book is *Recepta*, the sum received for which the Keeper had to account. This is subdivided according to the various sources from which the money was derived. Thus, for the year October 18, 1274 to November 20, 1275, we have a draft statement, prepared in the Wardrobe, of the Receipts of the Keeper, Thomas Bek (Accts., etc., 350/20). In this the receipts are divided as follows:—Balance taken over from the previous Keeper, Receipts from the Exchequer, from the Jews, from Escheators and Sheriffs, from other Bailiffs, from the Clerk of the Market, from the Tenth, from divers Ministers (including *Placita Aule*, or profits of the Palace Court, Fines, and Sales of Stock), an overpayment by the Exchequer, Gifts to the King, and Loans. Here, out of nearly £18,000 received, less than £5,000 come from the Exchequer. The rest is what is known as *Recepta Forinseca* or "Foreign Receipt." Professor Tout has remarked that the proportion of Foreign Receipt is much smaller in the later years of the reign. The reason for this will be found in a change in the method of book-keeping. In the printed Wardrobe Book of 28 Edward I, the Exchequer is credited with £49,000 as against a Foreign Receipt of £9,000. If this Foreign Receipt is examined, it will be found to consist of £92 13*s.* 4*d.* from the *Perquisita Mercati*, or fines collected by the Clerk of the Market who accompanied the King, from persons in the towns where the Household stayed found guilty of using false weights and measures; £70 7*s.* 5*d.* for *Placita Aule*, or fines and amercements in the Palace Court, which had jurisdiction over all persons within the "verge," and chattels of convicted felons; and £826 2*s.* 4*d.* for profits of the Great

Foreign Receipt.

Seal, of which a separate account is rendered. To this must be added £584 5*s.* 4*d.* arising from foreign money confiscated under the "Statute of Stepney." All the rest is mere book-keeping, cross-entries representing unrealized expenditure. The total sum actually received from sources other than the Exchequer is only £1,573 8*s.* 5*d.*, from which we must deduct the expenses of the Great Seal, amounting to £581 9*s.* 9*d.*, leaving the net Foreign Receipt £981 18*s.* 8*d.*

The reason for this clearly is that revenue, and even loans, were no longer paid directly into the Wardrobe. This does not mean that all supplies were drawn in cash from the Treasury, but only that the whole transaction was recorded in the Issue and Receipt Rolls. Thus, if the Keeper of the Wardrobe drew on the collectors of a Fifteenth and Tenth in Yorkshire for money to pay for corn bought there by the sheriff for army supplies (Accts., etc., 361/1), the collectors will ultimately receive a tally at the Exchequer for the sum thus paid, and a corresponding sum will be endorsed on the Wardrobe "Liberate," and appear on the Issue Roll as a payment from the Exchequer to the Wardrobe. It will thus come in the "Onus Scaccarii," and will not appear in the Wardrobe Book as Foreign Receipt.

Cross Entries.

We must now turn to that part, more than four-fifths, of the Foreign Receipt, which we dismissed as cross-entries, and consider them more closely. They represent (1) Sales of stock ; (2) Wages not earned and so unpaid ; (3) Compensation for short deliveries of victuals ; and (4) Changes in the value of money due to the crying down and subsequent demonetization of "Crokards and Pollards" by the Statute of Stepney.

This last debit demands a little explanation. In one instance a sheriff had paid for the carriage of some wine before the Statute, in Pollards, which were then accepted as equivalent to sterling, and appear as sterling in the expenses of the Wardrobe. The sheriff, after the Statute, is only credited with the actual value of the coin, which is now only half that of sterling. The difference must there-

fore appear as a receipt or the account would not balance. Again the Wardrobe, after the Statute, receives from the Treasury a sum in sterling, which is paid in the shape of double that amount of Crokards and Pollards. The Wardrobe, exemplifying Gresham's Law, sorts out all the coins worth more than their statutory value of a halfpenny each, melts them down, and takes them to the mint to be recoined. The profit on this is entered as a receipt.

Expenditure.

The various sources of income which have been described are all grouped under the heading of *Recepta*, but the Expenditure is divided into a number of different sub-heads, corresponding with the separate Rolls and Counter-rolls which preceded the Wardrobe Books. The most important of these, the *Hospicium* or household, does not appear in detail in the printed Wardrobe Book of 28 Edward I, the sum of £10,926 5*s*. 4*d*.[1] being added on to the total of the expenditure recorded in the book on this account. It is possible that it had not yet become usual to record it in book form. We have, at any rate, rolls of the Household of the reign of Edward III, and the later Household Books retain the system on which the earlier rolls were compiled.

Household Roll.

These rolls are of special interest because they are in Journal form, and so arranged that they present a complete itinerary of the Royal Household and afford a valuable check to itineraries compiled from the dates of Letters under the Great and Privy Seals.[2] The place where the Household is is written on the margin of the roll. Each entry begins by stating the day of the week and month, and then the expenditure of each of the departments of the Household. These, as they appear on the roll of 21 Edward I (Accts.,

[1] The original Roll (Accts., etc., 357/25) gives a total of £10,968 16*s*. 0½*d*. The difference was presumably disallowed on audit.

[2] The King is almost invariably at the place recorded in the Household Accounts in the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, and in the earlier years of Edward III. Towards the end of his reign the Household appears settled at Windsor, although the King is known, from other sources, to have been elsewhere.

etc., 353/10) are the Spence, Buttery, Kitchen, Scullery, Saucery, Hall, Chamber, Stable and Wages. In the margin are noted the provisions taken from stock, such as wax, which were not paid for by the Household but included under other sub-heads. In some of the minor Household Rolls, e.g. of the Queen's household, the dates of arrival and departure of members of the household and others are noted. In the King's household the Marshal's Roll must have kept account of this since the food used is calculated on a regular scale of allowance, which has come down, with whatever modifications, from the *Constitutio Domus Regis* of Henry I. The Kitchen Bills could thus be checked by a calculation of the number of "messes" required for each meal, and the same standard of measurement could be applied to the Wine and Ale, the Bread, and the Candles. The same system, or something like it, subsisted in the Royal Household, nearly, if not quite, down to the time of Prince Albert's reforms.

The system of substituting money allowances for the right to dinner in Hall, which we find fully developed in the nineteenth century, was introduced by the Ordinance or Statute of St. Albans, which came into force April 13, 1300. The sums due for these allowances were presumably chargeable to the Household account in the case of those persons whose names were included in the Roll of the Household. At all events we only find such allowances under the head of wages when the stay in Court has been short, and it was presumably not worth while to put the name down on the Roll of the Marshals of the Hall (*Lib. Quot.*, p. 200).

The Household Rolls, unlike the other sections of the annual account, were the result of a daily audit, which is described in the Ordinance of 1278, printed in Professor Tout's book (II, 158–63). I venture to translate the relevant passages :—

Ordinance of 1278.

It is ordained and commanded that the Stewards, or one of them if both cannot attend, with the Treasurer, or in his

absence the Controller, and one of the Marshals of the Hall, and the Clerks and Serjeants of the Departments (*mesters*) be every night at the account of the Household. There shall be examined the "messes" of the Hall, by testimony of the Ushers of the Hall. And by the number of the "messes" shall be examined the issues of the Pantry, Buttery, and Kitchen. And if there be excess it shall be amended, and the Serjeants reprimanded.[1]

In the margin of the Household Roll shall be written every night the wine expended during the day, so that by the testimony of this Roll which is of record in the Household, we can audit the account of the tuns of wine twice or three times a year.

Furthermore, there shall be there examined the wages of the Serjeants, the Esquires, and the Grooms, as is accustomed.

And if there be any trespass presented at the Account which is not so heinous that it need be reported to the King, let it be there amended at the discretion of the Stewards and Treasurer by deduction from wages, or in any other way that seems good to them, so that the lord be not disturbed for a matter which can be amended by them. . . .

The Usher of the Wardrobe must have the wax and the tallow weighed every day, both what is used and what is kept (*au fere et au reteiner*), and weigh out the livery every night, and the next day reweigh the candle ends (*ceo ke murt*), so that by this weighing he may know the expense of each night, and the sum of the whole at the end of the year. And the same Usher, when he has received the candles, is to weigh them and put them away safely, and take from them and deliver to the Chandler the expense of each night. And the Chandler is to have nothing in his charge but the expense for the night, as the Usher delivered it to him.

After some regulations for the Queen's Household to the like effect, we have an order to the Marshals to make search every month in order to see that no persons eat at the table or have horses in the stables except those who belong to the establishment. In this way it was possible to keep an exact check on the Household expenditure.

Notice should be taken of the system of joint lay and

[1] Specimen rolls showing the proceedings of this "Board of Green Cloth" are Accts., etc., 358/17 and 353/28.

clerical control in the Household. We find the same system in the War Office at the present day. Thus we may assume that the Steward and the Serjeants of the Offices were responsible for the service, and fixed the quality and quantity of the supplies needed, indenting on the Keeper and Clerks for what is required, and leaving them to contract for the goods and arrange the payment of the bills. We have, in one of the miscellaneous files (Accts., etc., 362/18), a letter from Sir Walter de Beauchamp, the Steward, to John de Drokensford, Keeper of the Wardrobe, complaining that certain stores required at Berwick, have not been sent.

Rolls of the Offices.

There would probably be some difficulty in reconstructing the Household Accounts from the material at our disposal. We have, however, a few of the rolls of the Household offices which give some idea of the way in which accounts were kept. For instance, we have a roll of the Kitchen for 20 Edward I very similar in form to the daily roll of Household expenses. It was presumably kept by the Clerk of the Kitchen. He notes in the left-hand margin the imprests made him on account of the offices for which he is responsible, and in the centre the daily expenses of them all. They are (1) The Kitchen, (2) the Scullery, (3) the Saucery, (4) the Hall, and (5) the Chamber (Accts., etc., 353/2). On the back are the sums total for the year of each of the offices and memoranda of the wages of the officers. There is a similar roll of the following year for the Pantry and Buttery. Although the same clerk accounts for both offices, their expenses are kept separate. The roll is arranged in six columns showing (1) quantities of bread and ale received, (2) wine and wax taken out of stock, (3) bread, wine and ale issued, (4) expenses in detail, (5) the sums of the Pantry and Buttery expenses for the day, and (6) the imprests received. The expenses of the Pantry are divided into (1) the Spence, which issued the bread, (2) the Bakery, (3) the Laundress, (4) the Waferer, and (5) Wages. The Buttery expenses are likewise divided into (1) Ale and Sundries, and (2) Wages. The totals of the

Pantry and Buttery for each day agree with the sums put down under Spence and Buttery in the Household Roll. There is also an account of weekly Stable expenses for the same year (Accts., etc., 353/15), but this does not include all the Stable expenses. Thus the rolls of the three clerks of the Pantry and Buttery, the Kitchen, and the Marshalsey would include the whole of the expenses appearing on the Household Roll. There are some smaller offices, such as the Acatery and the Poultry which were branches of the Kitchen, and the Ewery which was part of the Hall. I have not found a roll of the Marshals of the Hall, but there are memoranda of the number of days of service of certain servants in 24–5 Edward I (Accts., etc., 354/8). There is also a fragment of a Wages Roll of 8 Edward I, showing the arrivals and departures and the wages paid for each day. There is one example of a roll of daily issues of Wine, Ale, and Bread for April, 33 Edward I. This gives a list of the members of the household, and is ruled in columns, one for each day, so that for each commodity there is a tabular statement of the exact number of loaves, pitchers of wine, and gallons of ale consumed by each person (Accts., etc., 356/13). There are, moveover, files of Pantry, Buttery, and Kitchen vouchers for the issue of stores to various persons (e.g. Accts., etc., 358/10 and 11).

Among other minor accounts is one for 27 Edward I by the King's Chandler. On one side are his payments for firewood and thread or cotton wicks, on the other a statement of the number of pounds of candles issued each day of the year (Accts., etc., 356/26).

Besides the detailed Household Rolls of which we have already spoken, there are weekly summaries, showing the expenditure week by week and month by month of the several Household departments (e.g. for 30 Edward I, Accts., etc., 361/22). These are added up and show the cost for the year of the Pantry, Buttery, Kitchen, Stable Wages, and Alms. The last item was presumably carried to the general Alms account, which included also payments made directly by the Almoner.

Tallies and Debentures.

The manner in which purchases on credit were made is shown by a statement of the debts of the Pantry and Buttery of Edward, Prince of Wales in 35 Edward I (Accts., etc., 361/8). The officer making the purchase gave the creditor a tally showing the amount bought and the price. The creditor kept the stock, and exchanged it for a Wardrobe Debenture. When the officer closed his account, he handed in a list of the foils of tallies still in his hands and this was compared with the list of debts charged to his account in the Wardrobe book of debts. If these tallied he was cleared, and his successor took over the liability. The tallies were presumably joined when the debts were finally discharged.

The remaining sub-heads are less complicated, though they increase in number as time goes on. The account of expenses of Robert Burnel, who managed the affairs of Edward I during his absence in the East (Pipe Roll, 9 Edward I, m. 3, for which particulars Accts., etc., 350/7) distinguishes only *Necessaria* and Wages. The first Wardrobe account of Thomas Bek (Pipe Roll, 3 Edward I, m. 22) enumerates Alms and Oblations, *Necessaria*, Gifts, Knights, Messengers, Balisters, Hunting and Hawking, Great Wardrobe, and Plate and Jewels. In the printed Wardrobe Book of 28 Edward I, the King being at war, and no separate account being kept of War expenses, the list is longer, viz.:

Alms.

Elemosina, amounting to £1,166 14*s.* 6*d.* This includes the expense of the King's Almoner in giving 666 free meals every week, with extra meals on special occasions (*see* Accts., etc., 357/29), the King's offerings, and those of the Queen and Royal family at various shrines, food for the friars at the towns where the King stayed, or at funerals, oblations at mass, and compassionate allowances.

Sundries.

Necessaria or Sundries, amounting to £3,249 16*s.* 2*d.* This includes expenses of carriage, expenses of clerks and others sent on special missions, e.g. to raise troops, the Royal barges, recoinage of Crokards and

Pollards, apothecaries' bills, construction of military engines, books and parchment and fees for Notaries preparing instruments; also purchase of horses, tents, and the wages of the Steward of the Household, the Chancellor of Scotland, the King's physicians; and all sorts of minor expenses. At the end of the account is a further charge of £214 17*s.* 0¼*d.* for wages of servants not on the Marshal's Roll, and for Shoes.

Victuals.

Victualia et Garnistura Castrorum, amounting to £18,638 1*s.* 8*d.* This shows the value of the supplies obtained from the various sheriffs, and used either in the Household or in victualling castles, for which the sheriff obtained credit at the Exchequer. To this is added the cost of carriage. At the end of each of these accounts is a stock account showing what became of the stores purchased. This being a year of war the bulk of them are debited to the stock accounts of the two receivers of stores responsible for the supply of the army in Scotland from the bases at Berwick and Carlisle respectively. Some, however, are delivered to the Pantler and Butler of the Household, or the Clerk of the Kitchen, and are debited to their stock accounts on the Household Roll, which is unfortunately incomplete for this year. Any short deliveries are treated as being sold back again to the Sheriff, and the sum thus repaid by him is placed to the debit of the Wardrobe in the *Recepta* account, as already explained.

The stocks delivered to the Receivers of Stores are similarly pursued through their respective accounts until expended as Army supplies or delivered to the keepers of the various Castles. When corn is milled, or barley brewed, the quantity used is written off, and a new account started for the resulting flour or ale. The stocks remaining in hand are carried to the account of the following year.

The second portion of the Victuals account contains the accounts of the keepers of castles, both for the wages of the garrison and incidental expenses, and for the stores supplied to them by the receivers or from other sources.

This sub-head does not occur in the early accounts, being obviously required only in war conditions.

Gifts.

The next sub-head *Dona*, is an old one, but includes also *Restaurum Equorum*, which is a war expense. The gifts are mostly to messengers of foreign Princes, or to persons who have suffered damage by the use of their houses for the accommodation of the Court. There are also gratuities to soldiers returning from French prisons, and minor gifts to minstrels and others. The replacing of horses, which forms the rest of this account, is due to the fact that men entering the King's service with their own horses had them valued on the day from which their wages began, and were entitled to have this value repaid them if their horses died in the King's service, or if they were taken by the King for his own use. The total of this sub-head was £4,386 4*s.* 5*d.*

Knights and Serjeants.

Feoda Militum is again an old sub-head, amounting to £3,077 19*s.*, of which only £590 is the cost of the ordinary Household troops, Bannerets at a fee of ten marks twice a year and simple Knights at five. The rest is made up by the wages of the troops of knights and esquires employed in the army in Scotland. Many of the leaders of these contingents are also on the Household establishment. Knights or Bannerets in garrison had no fee, as they received wages and maintenance for the whole year at the King's expense. The Bannerets and Knights of the Household seem to have formed a permanent Staff Corps.

Vadia Balistariorum, Servientum ad Arma, et Scutiferorum, amounting to £1,038 16*s.* 7*d.*, is made up of the £157 19*s.* 4*d.* for the wages of the Household Serjeants, who similarly got no wages as such while on garrison duty; and £880 11*s.* 3*d.* for the services of other Esquires and Men-at-arms serving in the Scottish war. These had all 8*d.* a day, or, if they found their own horses, 1*s.* Some of these paid for service in the army had also lay offices in the Household, and their allowances in that capacity are deducted from their wages.

Vadia Peditum is again a war sub-head, amounting to £4,446 9*s.* 11½*d.*, and is added to the preceding item. It shows the wages paid to the levies obtained by Commissions of Array, and to the workmen impressed for engineering services.

Army and Navy.

Vadia Nautarum, amounting to £1,233 9*s.* 8*d.*, also a war charge, is for fleet and transport services, and includes the wages of a Fleet chaplain.

Expensa Nunciorum, £87 11*s.* 1*d.*, is an ordinary charge, mainly for the delivery of Writs of Great or Privy Seal, but includes also some other expenses of messengers for departmental correspondence.

Postal Services.

Vadia Falconariorum, the next sub-head, with a total of £77 6*s.* 11½*d.*, is also old, and includes the wages and expenses of the King's mews, the Falconers and Ostringers, and the Huntsmen and Hounds. The charge this year is unusually low, but some of the expenses of the year were not brought into account till the thirty-fourth year, in which we find accounts covering the twenty-eighth to the thirty-fifth years.

Hunting and Hawking.

The next account, *Robe Militum et Clericorum*, dates, as a separate account, from the sixth year, and includes the liveries issued at Whitsuntide and Christmas to the clerical and lay members of the Household. Their shoes are included in the *Necessaria*. If absent on the days named, they did not receive their liveries. The liveries seem at this time to have taken the form of an allowance in money (*Lib. Quot.*, p. 319). If not, they would probably have appeared in the account of the Great Wardrobe. The sum amounts to £714 3*s.* 4*d.*

Liveries.

Jocalia, the next sub-head, is an old one. It contains the cost of silver drawn from the Mint for the making of new plate, with the cost of manufacture:—£96 14*s.* 11*d.* and the cost of jewellery, gold clasps for offering at shrines, bought of the goldsmiths: raising the total to £253 15*s.* 6*d.* After this comes the stock account, which was considered of sufficient importance to be enrolled

Jewels.

on the Pipe Roll. It shows in detail all the jewels for which the Keeper of the Wardrobe was responsible, and how they were disposed of. We have large numbers of minor stock accounts, showing the exact articles handed over to the Serjeant of the Scullery and taken by the King on his travels (e.g. Accts., etc., 357/10). The stock account in the book gives full particulars of jewels and plate given to the king, or restored by the executors of deceased prelates, as well as of those bought or remade from older possessions.

Great Wardrobe.

Magna Garderoba, the Great Wardrobe, is like the preceding, a combined money and stock account. It is here only presented in abstract, adding up to £4,391 19*s.* 4½*d.* The detailed account was, no doubt, contained in a separate roll as in other years (e.g. Accts., etc., 352/22). The Great Wardrobe, though dependent on the Wardrobe of the Household, was to some extent a separate department. It was the office for the wholesale purchase of Cloth, Furs, Wax and Groceries, for the King's use, and included as a sub-department the King's Tailor. Its accounts are carefully kept in money and stock. From it were supplied the liveries of the household, as well as the clothes and bed-furniture of the Royal Family, the Wax used for candles, and part of that for sealing writs, and the groceries used in the Saucery. It also served as a "Slop Chest" for the Knights and Clerks attached to the Household, who could obtain from it cloth and other commodities against their wages. It thus had separate accounts for *Empciones*, or purchases of stock; *Necessaria*, or current expenses; *Liberaciones*, or issues of stock for household expenses, and *Prestita*, or issues to private persons against their wages. The two latter were accompanied by *Arreamenta*, or statements of the balances of each kind of stock for the year (e.g. Accts., etc., 361/17).[1]

[1] Accts., etc., 354/23 is an account of *Prestita*. 355/11 is an account of *Liberaciones* for 34 Edw. 3, with a list of issues of clothing to the new knights made when Edward, prince of Wales received knighthood.

Butlerage.

Another subordinate account is that of the *Pincerna Regis*, the King's Butler, as distinguished from the Butler of the Household. The Wardrobe Book of 28 Edward I has his account for two years, in abstract only. That for the twenty-seventh year adds up to £1,951 16*s.* 4*d.* and that for the twenty-eighth to £4,982 10*s.*, the former account being for only half a year. His duty was to collect the prise of wines, one tun before and one abaft the mast, from every cargo of wines landed, and to purchase wine wholesale for the King's use. The household and the army alike obtained their stores from him. The particulars and vouchers of these accounts will be found in the P.R.O. "List of Accounts, etc.," under the heading Butlerage.

Minor Households.

When the Queen, or any of the King's children, was living apart from the King, a separate Household or Households came into existence, organized on the same model as the King's, but with less elaboration. In the Book we are considering, the Queen's expenses during her occasional absences, amount to £3,667 9*s.* 0½*d.* In the earlier years of the reign the Keeper of the King's Children accounted separately, but this account was soon merged in the general Wardrobe and Household account. The early accounts (e.g. Accts., etc., 350/15–16) are divided simply into *Hospicium* or Household and *Necessaria* or Sundries, and this with other hints which we find in the accounts, suggests that the Wardrobe Books were originally the *Necessaria* account which gradually split up into a number of heads, while the Household Roll retained approximately its original form.

The last account in the Wardrobe Book is that for the issues of the Great Seal. The receipts have already appeared in the *Recepta*, where we have mentioned them. The expenses amount to £581 9*s.* 9*d.*, and must have always been much the same, since the main charge is the Chancellor's fee of £500, out of which he had to find the food and liveries of himself and his clerks. The wages of the sealing staff were

also the same year by year, leaving only the sundry expenses variable. The occurrence of this account in the Wardrobe Book is the only trace now left of the intimate connexion of the Chancery with the Chapel, and its original status as a part of the Household. The parcels and vouchers of this account are unfortunately scarce, though after the Hanaper of the Chancery began to account separately to the Exchequer, details are abundant.

Hanaper.

We have now completed our survey of the Wardrobe Book, and it only remains to add that the Book for 34 Edward I differs from that printed in having at the end an account of the *Prestita* for the year. We have already seen what these were, and it is clear that they must be taken into account to obtain a balance.

Adjustments of Account.

Besides the various classes of parcels and vouchers which we have mentioned, there exist a certain number of documents which arise from the necessities of accounting. Thus, the keeper of a subordinate Wardrobe or Household, such as the Queen's, may incur expenses chargeable not to his own department, but to some branch of the King's Household. We have, for instance, an account of this kind from the Queen's Treasurer, Thomas de Querle, for 29–32 Edward I (Accts., etc., 361/3). In the same way we have a statement of account for 30 Edward I between the Pantlers and Butlers of the King and the Prince of Wales for the adjustment of charges (*Ib.*, 360/27).

Audit.

The Exchequer seems to have dealt with these accounts much as the Audit Office does now. For example, we have the list of surcharges on the personal account of John de Drokensford, keeper of the Wardrobe for 30–35 Edward I (Accts., etc., 363/2), and these consist mainly of a reduction of his allowance while travelling from 2 marks to 20*s*. More important matters did also receive consideration, as for instance when the Exchequer pointed out that considerable sums received by the Wardrobe from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-fourth year, for Customs of Wine, a triennial tenth, etc., had not been brought into

account (Accts., etc., 369/11, quoted by Tout, *Chapters*, etc. ii. 128 n).

I cannot conclude this paper without a cordial expression of gratitude to Professor Tout for his *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*. I fear that those who have read his book will find little that is new to them in my paper: and although I am inclined to think that he speaks too strongly of the inadequacy of mediæval accounts, I must confess myself deeply indebted to his earlier studies in the subject of which I have been speaking.

THE ENGLISH COLONY IN ROME DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

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The middle of the fourteenth century, not only in Italy but throughout Europe, marked a period of crisis and of momentary retrogression.

The two great authorities, the Papacy and the Empire —who in the Middle Ages had constituted the meeting-point and the symbol of unity in Christian Europe, and who even fifty years before, according to Dante, ruled the world—were both in a condition of temporary eclipse. The Papacy had not yet rallied from the insult of Agnani and lay a prisoner at Avignon in what was called by the Italian writers, the Babylonian Captivity, while the Empire had fallen finally with the " Great Harry " who had come

" a drizzare Italia
In prima ch' ella sia disposta " [1]

and now slept in his tomb, in the beautiful cathedral of Pisa.

Thus, for the moment, those forces which for three centuries had reunited Europe in the Crusades and had defended her in the East against the invasion of Asia, had failed ; and the Turk, though he was still some distance from Constantinople, was nevertheless on the point of invading Thrace and putting her to the sack, whilst the two great kingdoms of the West, which had fought side by side in the Crusades, were tearing each other to pieces in what was called the Hundred Years War.

[1] Dante, *Paradiso*, 30, 137–8.

As for Italy, she had no desire to engage in any foreign war. She had as many domestic affairs as she could control. Genoa and Venice, Milan and Florence, the kingdom of Naples and the state of the Church exhausted her finances and absorbed her natural resources in carrying on interminable intrigues and hostilities and paying the Companies of Adventurers who were the scourge of Italy; against whom the voice of the great poet of the time, Francesco Petrarca, had already been raised. Of each of these wars, the inevitable results were always famine and local epidemics. But in 1348, in this combatant and anarchical Europe, which had lost the consciousness of its own unity and which was lacerating itself with its own hands in a blind frenzy, there suddenly appeared a calamity more disastrous than any other, one that reduced the population to a greater degree than any preceding war, so that it seemed as if the seed of man would not be left on the earth,—the Black Death.

The immediate consequences of this diminution were the increase in wages, the resultant class struggle and the commencement of those socialistic movements which culminated in the rebellions of "Jaques Bonhomme" in France and of John Ball in England. These, therefore, were, in all probability, the main forces contributing, with other causes, to upset the economic system on which was built feudalism, forces that were destined to prepare the way and to facilitate the task of those who, in the succeeding century, devoted themselves to create the absolute monarchy of the new age from the womb of a decrepit and chaotic mediæval society. But these glorious and wonderful events were still in the bosom of the future, and contemporary writers, who were not able to foresee, and who were not in a position to judge, except from the daily facts of which they were witnesses, mistook, as is often the case, the precursors of a great revolution for the episodes of a brief folly.

That which strikes us most forcibly was the unbridled

licence in the prevailing customs and the boldness of the common people. Notice how an Italian chronicler—Matteo Villani, a Florentine—describes their significance in words that have a particular interest to those who, like ourselves, can perhaps recall some similar experiences.

"Everybody believed that men, whom God in His mercy had preserved, having witnessed the downfall of their neighbours . . . would amend their ways . . . would restrain themselves from sin and iniquity and be full of love and charity one towards another.

"But presently—the plague finished—just the contrary did happen: for men greatly reduced in number, forsaken, and fattened with the succession of large estates, forgetting the past, gave themselves up to the most reckless and dishonest life . . . seeking after unbridled luxury, wearing strange garments of a new and immodest fashion, changing the forms even of all furniture. And the lower classes—men and women—infatuated by the plenty and abundance of every thing necessary to life, refused to work at their usual trades . . . and claimed for themselves the same refinements and delicacies as the high classes, thus disorganizing the whole life of the city . . . and asked in wages . . . almost treble of what was customary."

If such was the state of the world, how fared Rome, *caput mundi*?

As Dante writes:

> "Soleva Roma che il buon mondo feo
> Due soli aver, che l'una e l'altra strada
> Facean vedere, e del mondo e di Deo." [1]

It was certainly inevitable that the temporary fall of the Papacy and of the Empire, the darkening of these two suns should conduce to the abasement of the city which was, to keep to our metaphor, the East.

The city, deprived of the attributes which pertain to her historical title, was reduced to her natural condition, that of the chief town of a poor and unhealthy territory

[1] *Purg.*, 16, 107.

under an organization essentially primitive, where almost the only source of wealth was the pasture.

Even now, the visitor to Rome is surprised to find a gap in the wonderful progressive construction which distinguishes her, and which has given some important monuments at almost every epoch of her twenty-seven centuries of existence, a gap which opens just at these years on which we have fixed our attention, the years of the Babylonian captivity and of the schism that followed almost at once. Thus the Gothic style, that has so many admirable examples in other Italian cities, has scarcely any representation in Rome, and it can be said that the style of the Renaissance in the second half of the fifteenth century follows, almost without digression, on that of the Romanesque.

In the thirteenth century, fostered by the prosperity born of the presence of the Pontifical Court, was developed a florid artistic tradition which, in Pietro Cavallini, produced a precursor to Giotto and, with the Cosmatic School, an art of construction so full of strength and delicacy that, emanating from Rome, it had not only found a place in the numerous churches and cloisters of Central Italy, but crossing the Alps, it finally reached London, where, in Westminster Abbey, it adorned with its mosaics and marble the tombs of the Plantagenets. But the removal of the Papacy was destined to suppress these hopes at their birth. The fourteenth century is in fact for Rome, from an artistic point of view, a century as full of death, as the preceding one had been full of the promises of life; and to provide for the restoration of crumbling churches was the extent of her undertakings at this period.

The walls which, at the end of the third century, the Emperor Adrian had erected as a defence against the barbarians, had become too wide and they enclosed, for at least two-thirds of the ground, a desert peopled by ruins. The inhabitants began to confine themselves almost completely to the lower parts of the valley, on the banks of the river that then (as in the beginning of the history of

the City) supplied a path to the sea for their scanty trade and furnished water for the still scarcer population. The surrounding hills, that had been and are now again densely populated, were then deserted and covered with shrubs, reeds, vines and even olives, except on the roads which led to the Basilicas, the goals of the pilgrims—the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore—or in the immediate neighbourhood, where dwelt a few scattered inhabitants.

The aspect of the population was consistent with that of the city in general. Deprived of their ordinary sources of gain, which a rich Court such as the Pontifical had always provided, miserable in their desolation, lessened in number naturally by reason of the exodus of the many who preferred the splendours of Avignon, and decimated by epidemics of malaria consequent on the general decadence of the buildings and neglect of cultivation, the populace of Rome presented a spectacle all the more sad in contrast to the great memories of the past. And even a century later, when the Pontifical Court had returned after a long absence, the humanists, who collected there from all parts, noticed a boorishness and a roughness in strange contrast to the refinement of manner then prevalent in other Italian cities.

The anarchy which we have already noticed as characteristic of the whole world in this century, was here, in Rome—*caput mundi*—at its height. The struggles between the patrician families burst out more violently than ever, no one succeeding in acquiring any definite advantage, which might at least have secured a truce to the warfare which racked the city.

Let us see how a contemporary chronicler describes this state of things:

"The city of Rome was in great distress. Rulers, she had none. Every day there were fights, and robberies. Where there was a house of virgins they were abused . . . the labourers, when they are out working, are robbed . . . the pilgrims ill-

treated and cheated. . . . He only is right, who has a sword. There is no safety apart from your family and friends."

It is impossible to describe better in a few words the abyss of anarchy into which the city had fallen. There was evidently no recognized authority, and society disintegrated itself and dissolved, each element making a frantic struggle to survive.

Against such conditions those classes had always sought and were seeking a redress who were likely to suffer most : the classes living by trade. To this would have been most necessary the safety of the roads, but the roads were at the mercy of the Barons who, secure in their strongholds, ruled the country. At any rate, as we have already seen, industry and commerce in Rome were in a poor condition, and consequently the middle classes could never hope to get the political power which had allowed the like classes in Florence to put down the pride of the lords of the surrounding country districts. The history of Rome in the fourteenth century is, in great measure, the history of the unsuccessful attempts of this growing democracy to overcome a quarrelsome nobility. One of these attempts is associated with the name of a man whose fame is known not only in Rome, and who in the eyes of Petrarch himself appears at this moment as the saviour of Italy, Cola di Rienzo.

It was then this Rome which on the occasion of the great Jubilee—after the lapse of half a century—saw the pilgrims of all Europe, the survivors of the generation which had known the Black Death.

Perhaps it will not have been unprofitable to have recalled your attention to the circumstances and particulars of this event ; because it is unquestionable that in the special conditions of Rome, which will affect these pilgrims, is hidden at least one of the motives that determined, in the second half of the century, the foundation of a hospice " ad usum pauperum Anglicorum." But the establishment of the English Hospice is not and must not

be considered as an isolated case, or otherwise its full signification will not be realized. Almost contemporaneously, that is, at the end of the same century, other hospices were started in Rome for other nations ; for Germans, Portuguese, Spaniards and Swedes.

Now if one of the causes for the establishment of these hospices is, undoubtedly, to be found in the condition of Rome, another must be sought in the general condition of Europe.

One would say that, even in the act of distinguishing and asserting themselves to the point of exasperation, the different nationalities felt the need nevertheless of keeping a common abode in this town, which is the fountain-head and the mother of civilization for them all, and which may be still considered, in the words of the poet, as

"patriam diversis gentibus unam."

Christian Europe of the fourteenth century was far from possessing the fundamental unity of the past. The great transmigrations, characteristic of the Middle Ages, were over, long residence in the land and antagonistic wars had brought forth and then deepened those differences between the people on which are founded the great divisions, and the national struggles characteristic of modern times.

The foundation of the strangers' hospices in Rome in the second half of the fourteenth century corresponds exactly to a like moment of history and witnesses the confirmation of the national factor. It is significant that the hospice "pauperum Anglicorum" first saw light in Rome almost at the same time that Chaucer prepared to give to his countrymen a national literature.

The fact was not new at any rate, and had in Rome a precedent which cannot be overlooked. Already in the eighth century, in close vicinity to the tomb of the Apostles and the Vatican, in that quarter which came to be called "il Borgo," some of the principal German races had their institutions or hospices, among which the Saxons who estab-

lished that *Schola Saxonum*, the name of which still survives in that of the Church of *S. Spirito in Sassia*. Only, while in the eighth century we find the ruling races—Saxons, Franks, Frisians and Lombards—establishing their colonies, now, in the fourteenth, new peoples, hardly issued forth out of the crucible of different races, appear with the historical names thenceforth attached to them: English, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish.

Until now we have spoken of general causes; of those to be found more or less in the establishment of all national hospices in Rome. But by the side of the general causes there should be and there are some particularly applicable to each case; causes that should be sought for in the quality of the concrete relations of each country with Italy.

Now what were those which affected England?

When one looks back on England and on Italy at this period, many names occur to one's mind: such as the Bardi and Peruzzi and their lamentable fall, such as Chaucer and his ardent love for Dante: such as John Hawkwood, and besides the "hawk" of the "wood"—by antithesis—also the bachelor of the wood, William Flete, the gentle hermit of Lecceto, the friend of S. Catherine of Siena.

But Chaucer and William Flete stand apart and are not representative.

The names of the Bardi and of Peruzzi remind us of one of the main causes of the connexion of England and Italy: that of trade.

Italian merchants appear, it is said, in England towards the end of the twelfth century, but only in the following century were they firmly established. They are noticed at first principally as agents of the pontifical fiscality, but they very soon supplement this occupation with their own business as bankers to the great families, to the monasteries, and above all to the Crown, and at last, in consequence, they become receivers of taxes with the monopoly of the wool trade with the Continent.

Throughout all the thirteenth, and for part of the four-

teenth century, the relations between England and Italy are those of the partnership of a primitive agricultural system on the one side and on the other a fairly advanced industrial and financial organization. Italy invested in England the excess of her mobile capital, and on the other hand found there the raw materials of which she had need for her industries, the wool destined to be woven in the factories of the valleys of the Arno and the Po. But towards the middle of the fourteenth century, this arrangement of a century and a half's duration showed a tendency for the first time towards dislocation. In England and above all in the towns of the south-east, there arose a commercial class and an association of bankers; and contemporaneously the wool that till then had been exported almost only in its raw state, with the co-operation of workmen from Flanders came to be woven in a still greater quantity in the island. Thus commences an industry in which, founded on exceptionally good natural conditions, England would not thereafter ever lose pre-eminence, the manufacture of cloth.

And now, consequently, we notice for the first time the appearance on the Italian market of cloth and merchants from England; we see even at Rome, for example, the so-called statutes of Gabelle di Ripa and Ripetta distinguishing between the arrival of Italian merchandise and the cloth from Brussels, from Provence and from Languedoc, "the English cloth from Guildford"; and in the registry of the corporation of the mercers then in Rome, in the year 1375, there is to be seen the name of one foreigner, *Galfredus de Inghilterra.*

The name of John Hawkwood is the symbol of a less desirable connexion with Italy: that which is due to the Companies of Adventurers. Giovanni Acuto, as the Italians called him, has the doubtful privilege of having throughout impersonated and given his own name to this period when such bands abounded throughout the country.

And so he it is who has the honour to receive the re-

proaches and the exhortations of S. Catherine of Siena, to have his memory perpetuated in effigy in the duomo of Florence, to be the principal character in a novel by Franco Sacchetti. Two good Friars, relates Sacchetti, meeting Acuto at Montecchio, near Cortona, gave to him the customary Franciscan salutation: "God give you peace." But the man of war, displeased and indignant at this wish, replied with incivility because, as he explained later, "Do you not know that I live by war, and peace would be my ruin." Words, that to the worthy writer seem the height of cynicism and iniquity, but which, in truth, may be considered only as the frank and genuine expression of militarism of all time.

But to return to the fourteenth century. John Hawkwood certainly was not the only one nor the first to come in this capacity from England into Italy. For example, in 1321–22 we find in the pay lists of the Commune of Perugia [1] the "*probus et nobilis miles dominus Ugo de Belciampolo de Ingilterra*," commander of a troop of cavalry, all foreigners—"*ultramontani*" and the names of many of them are evidently English. But at first the majority of these mercenaries are Germans and only towards the middle of the century do the rolls of the bands that overran Italy, and especially the States of the Church, commence to be crowded with English names.

The Hundred Years War that was raging between France and England was beginning evidently to produce its effects, discharging, in its brief pauses, the surplus of its mercenaries on Italian soil. The first formation and first appearance in Italy of the so-called White Company —which, though originally commanded by a German, Albert Sterz, was composed almost exclusively of Englishmen—is in some measure the result of the Treaty of Bretigny. A party of mercenaries, left without pay and without employment by reason of this Treaty, found themselves on the Rhone, near Avignon, and Pope Innocent

[1] *Bollettino della Regia Deput. di S.P. per l'Umbria*, 1915, XXI, 221.

VI, who was also there, in order to avoid their somewhat dangerous propinquity, thought he could not do better than point out to them the road to Italy.[1]

Now the date of the founding of the Hospice, on the part of the *Universitas Anglicorum de Anglia* in Rome, fell exactly between that of the first formation of the "White Company" (1361) and that of the first arrival of Hawkwood in Italy (1364). It is difficult to reject any connexion between the two series of facts, although only in this sense, that the new influx of English into Italy on account of the wars, of which John Hawkwood is but one exponent, added a new motive to the necessity for the establishment of a hospice "ad commodum et utilitatem pauperum infirmorum et miserabilium personarum de Anglia . . . in Urbe concurrentium," and for its maintenance.

The Black Death and the Jubilee of 1350, the rupture of the unity of Christian Europe and the maturing in its stead of great national formations, the exile to Avignon and the Hundred Years War, the discharge into Italy of the first English companies as the ebb flow of the tide of commerce, now English, from the Island to the Continent, —all these things may be considered as the indirect, if not the immediate and admitted causes of the foundation of the Hospice which then took the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and developed later into what is to-day the English College.

It is noticeable that all the national hospices in Rome had originally a lay character and it is only later that they acquired an ecclesiastical constitution. In some cases the institution of these hospices is due to the piety of a woman: as those of the Spaniards, Portuguese and Swedes; others to a married couple who consecrate their joint fortune and their united energies to the service of their poor pilgrim fellow-countrymen. Such is the origin of the German Hospice of *S. Maria dell' Anima, hospitale personarum*

[1] Sautier, A., *Papst Urban V. und die Söldner Kompagnien in Italien in den Jahren*, 1362–1367.

nationis Alamanniæ, which owes its being to one *Johannes Petri*, of Dordrecht, and his wife Catherine, and likewise that of the English in the *Regola* quarter.

On the 14th April, 1362, a certain John Shepherd, by profession a dealer in rosaries, a trade which in a city like Rome is always especially remunerative, having given up, for the sum of forty golden florins, his own house for the use of a hospice, offered himself, together with his wife Alice, to serve personally the poor and the pilgrims who took refuge there "*toto tempore vitæ*," promising, at the same time, to leave at their death all their possessions "*in subsidium et pro subsidio infirmorum pauperum occurrentium in domo predicta*." This house was situated in the ward or quarter of the *Regola*, not in the older part of it, where Cola di Rienzo was born, but on the borders, close to the road which came to be called and is still the *Via Peregrinorum*.

As we have seen already, the German colonies of the eighth century had established their *scholæ* on the right bank of the Tiber, in the immediate surroundings of the tomb of the Apostles; but six centuries later the new national hospices are to be found on the left bank of the same Tiber.

The English hospice of St. Thomas was, as still it is, in the same street where S. Bridget founded, about the same time, a hospice for the Swedes, and the poor Catalan women one for the Spaniards.

At this point, then the most central of the city, being in close proximity to the group of streets leading to the Vatican, it seems that even from before this time all those who hailed from England were gathering together. English indeed had been, in the Middle Ages, the priests to whom had been confided the care of the neighbouring church of S. Pantaleo;[1] and of the adjacent wards of Regola and Parione—that is to say, inhabiting them—are all the English mentioned in the documents relating to the foundation of the hospice.

[1] *Armellini; Le chien di Roma*, p. 378.

The particulars of this foundation were given by Dr. Croke, on the occasion of the International Historical Congress,[1] of 1905, and were referred to recently by Cardinal Gasquet [2] in his valuable book on the English College, according to the documents now preserved in the rich Archives of the College itself.

By a mere chance, I have had the good fortune, lately, to discover in the State Archives of Rome some other documents which I would like now to bring to your notice, and which enables me to add still further details to those already made known by my illustrious predecessors. We all know what valuable sources for historical *data* are to be found in the Latin countries, and above all in Italy, in the archives of notaries. Now amongst the oldest notarial minute books that are preserved in the State Archives of Rome there exists one, in various handwritings and of different dates, but of which a certain portion is by the notary Anthonius Goioli Petri Scopte, the same who compiled some of the documents already published by Croke, and who evidently was, one might say, the confidential solicitor of the English residents then in Rome, and particularly of the new Hospice. Though the documents, brought to light by me, only deal with one year of the time, 1365, not a few, nevertheless, relate to the little English colony and one of them is, in fact, the will [3] with which John Shepherd, abiding by the promise which we have seen him make three years before, left his all "*pro reparatione et actatione domus universitatis Anglicorum de Anglia*": except some alms for the poor, and to his wife Alice her own dot of fifteen golden florins and ten shillings sterling, a bed,—of which the notary does not forget to enumerate the items—that is to say, the mattress, sheets and bolster—and also three golden florins received in her

[1] *Atti.* III, 555–721.

[2] *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome,* London, Longmans, 1920.

[3] Appendix No. 3.

name from a certain "Alena Anglica" and a debt of two other florins, also of gold.

Though the remaining documents only relate indirectly to the history proper of the *universitas*, yet they have importance for the light they throw on the daily life of those who naturally found their centre in the Hospice. Two of them in fact are drawn up in the Hospice itself, "in domo communitatis et universitatis." One [1] is a solemn compact of peace between a certain John, son of the late William Thomas, and the murderer of his cousin, one Roger, son of Nicholas, both "*de Anglia*"; the other [2] is the will of a certain Amata, widow of "Henricus Orlandi Anglicus" who, leaving six golden florins and a mattress with sheets to her son Angelo, pious legacies to a certain John "Anglicus" and to the rector of a church, left the residue of her property to be disposed of by her two executors, viz., William the Hermit and William, a dealer in rosaries. To both of these documents there were witnesses, quite different one from the other, except one, who was *de jure loci*, and who, therefore, appeared in both, the guardian of the house of the community, a certain "Johannes Palmerii." Of the five witnesses present at the contract of peace, one other at least was English, William "Daras," living in Parione; of the others, three did not state their nationality, but stated only that they were "vascellari," that is to say, workers in vessels of clay or potters; a profession which gives still, after six centuries, the identical name to a street in the Trastevere. According to the Roman law, there should be seven witnesses to wills and there is this number to the above-quoted will: they are all English and all living then in Rome and in the Regola quarter.

But a still greater interest is attached to the other two documents, as much for the rank of the persons concerned as for their nature. We no longer are dealing with potters or rosary vendors and other common people of the Regola

[1] Appendix No. 4. [2] Appendix No. 5.

or Parione. The Englishman, whom we find here as one of the parties of the case, is a man of quality. He has the title of knight and is one of a family who went over with William the Conqueror. The Roman notary so describes him, in his stilted Latin: "nobilis vir dominus Thomaxius de Ciandosso miles de Anglia sive de Ingilterra." [1]

He was then a Chandos but not the "Jean Chandos de Anglais capitaine; Fort chevalier de Poictou seneschal," who in 1370 was killed in France. The Chandos, whose acquaintance we are now making, does not belong to the Derbyshire branch, but comes from Hertfordshire, and the only record that remains of him, prior to that of which we speak, testifies to him as being rather a man of piety than of arms, to which last category belonged the other, the friend of the Black Prince.

In 1351, he obtained from the Pope,[2] together with his wife Lucy, special indulgences. And likewise, again with his wife, we find him mentioned fourteen years afterwards in the two documents, of which we will now speak, drawn up in Rome, the same day, 30th April, 1365.

The first [3] is an act of procuration. Thomas "di Ciandosso" and Lucy, his wife, depute their solicitor or attorney, Ciupo di Ser Francesco of Florence, to collect from one Leonardo Justi of Florence, but resident in Venice, the sum of three hundred of the five hundred pounds sterling which he owed to them on account of a letter of credit of James "Jacommini," also a Florentine, but resident in London; and from Michele di Vanni "ser Locti," now in Florence, six hundred and fifteen golden florins owing on account of a letter of credit of the same Leonardo Justi.

The document is also worthy of note because it allows us a glimpse at the methods of the international commercial banking system of the time and reveals to us the network of interests which united by way of the Florentine merchants, the markets of Rome, London, Florence and Venice.

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*
[2] *Calendar of Papal Registers,* III, 409.
[3] Appendix No. 1.

Ciupo di Ser Francesco, whom we have seen here acting as attorney, is, in fact, one of these same merchants. At Rome, in all times a great international centre, where he was established "in regione Sanctorum Laurentii et Damaxi," that is to say not far from the English Hospice, his clientèle were for the most part foreigners. He cashes to everybody who exhibits them the letters of credit on the Banking Houses, all of them Florentine, whose business he conducted and on whose account he acted. Thus [1] for one Maria, wife of Isaac of Bruges, he cashed a letter of credit for eighteen golden florins payable by a certain Ugolini Martelli, now of Bruges, on Michele Vannis ser Locti of Florence; and to two priests, John and Richard, evidently English, another letter [2] of twelve pounds sterling payable on the same Ser Locti by a Florentine merchant resident in London, the same James "Jacobini," whom we have met before.

The document, in which the said Ciupo was designated the attorney of Sir Thomas Chandos, has not in reality much in purpose and substance dissimilar to the others, but what makes it of special importance and distinguishes it is that it is the precedent of another of the same date, of which the tenor of the essential parts is as follows: [3]

Sir Thomas Chandos and Lucy, his wife, concluded a contract with Ciupo di Ser Francesco, in which it is agreed that the latter shall invest the sum, to whom the collection had been authorized with the preceding procuration, in the acquisition of stuffs and other merchandise to resell in Rome. In the partnership it is understood and it is so expressed that the one shall give the capital, the other the work—"personam et sue persone industriam"—the profits thereof to be equally divided. At the dissolution of the partnership the money employed shall be restored to the owners. The agreement was for five years, but a special clause was inserted that in the case of Sir Thomas Chandos and his wife Lucy being obliged, by an order of

[1] Appendix No. 7. [2] Appendix No. 6. [3] Appendix No. 2.

their king, to anticipate their return to England, it is understood that the partnership should be dissolved and Ciupo would have to release and restore the sums so invested at the end of six months from the day of the notification.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Just half a century ago, in October of 1873, J. R. Green, in a letter to Freeman, who then was on his way to Rome, wrote these words:

"Don't forget to go a pilgrimage to the English Places. . . . There are some odd little English traces here and there that the guide-books pass by."

Now the matters on which I have had the honour to detain you to-day, belong precisely to the category of those traces to which Green thus refers. Things in themselves slight enough, but to which—if I am not mistaken—some importance may be attached as affecting the common history of two great peoples, and they may be hereafter—as our poet has said of the verses of your poetess, E. B. Browning—a golden link between Italy and England.

APPENDIX.

Documents in the Archivio di Stato relating to the English Hospice in Rome

1. Act of procuration dated 30 April, 1365 executed by Sir Thomas Chandos of England, now residing in Rome in the Regola quarter, and Lucy his wife, appointing Ciupo di Ser Francesco as their attorney to collect from Leonardo Justi of Florence, now residing in Venice, the sum of 300 pounds sterling part of the sum of £500 sterling for payment of which the said Leonard is bound to the said Sir Thomas and lady Lucy by a certain letter of credit written by the hand of James Jacomini, citizen of Florence, now residing in London, in England: moreover to collect in the said Sir Thomas' name and behalf from Michael Vannis Ser Locti of Florence and his associates the sum of 615 gold Florins in which the said Michael and his associates are bound to the said Sir Thomas by a certain letter of payment written under the hand of the said Leonard.

2. Whereas on the 30th April, 1365, Sir Thomas Chandos and Lucy his wife aforesaid appointed Ciupo di Ser Francesco aforesaid their attorney as aforesaid, to collect the sum of £300 sterling as aforesaid and also to collect from Michael Vannis Ser Locti the sum of 615 gold Florins as aforesaid; now the aforesaid Sir Thomas and Lady Lucy have entered into partnership with the said Ciupo for a period of five years in respect of investing the sums of money to be collected by him as aforesaid in the purchase of new cloths and other merchandises as shall seem best to the said Ciupo, which shall be re-sold by him in Rome and the proceeds re-invested at his discretion. To which partnership Sir Thomas and Lady Lucy are to contribute the sum of 2,000 gold florins and Ciupo his person and personal industry during the five years of partnership. It is covenanted that, in pursuance of this contract, one half of the profits of the sales of merchandise shall be paid to Sir Thomas and Lady Lucy and the other half retained by Ciupo, who under-

takes to account for the capital sum invested and to hold it secure at his own peril from fire, shipwreck, theft, seizure, etc., or from the act of God or man of the sea and of nations. In the event of the death of Sir Thomas Chandos or his wife before the expiration of this partnership, Ciupo is bound to assign his or her share to the survivor of them. And if it shall happen that the King of England requires the said Sir Thomas or Lady Lucy to return to England, they shall receive back the capital invested in money, and not otherwise, at six months notice; and if Ciupo cannot find all the money, he shall be bound for payment of the residue.

Done at Rome, before the Church of St. Mary of Trastevere, in the presence of witnesses, all of them citizens of Rome.

3. Will, dated 3 August, 1365, of John Peter, Englishman, formerly of England and now inhabitant of Rome, in the Regola quarter, "keeper of the house of the community and university of the English of England aforesaid."

The testator bequeaths 12*d*. each to three of Christ's poor: to his wife Alice 15 gold florins and 10*s*. sterling (her marriage portion), the bed in which he lies, three gold florins received on his wife's behalf by him as executor of Alena the Englishwoman and two gold florins owing to him. The residue of his goods and property he bequeaths to the English House aforesaid for the repair and maintenance of the same.

4. Compact of true and perpetual peace made 22 November, 1365, between Roger, son of Nicholas formerly of England and John son of William Thomas, Clerk, formerly of England, brother and next of kin to Thomas son of Thomas, Clerk, Englishman deceased and slain, it is said, by the said Roger. The parties undertake to embrace and to disclaim, mutually, all injuries or offences, on penalty of 100*l*. for breach of this compact.

Done at Rome, in the English House, in the Regola quarter, next the churches of St. Mary and St. Catherine.

Among the witnesses is William Daras, formerly of England and now of Rome.

5. Will, dated 4 December, 1365, of Amata, widow of Henry (son of) Orlandus Anglicus, formerly of England and now inhabitant of Rome, in the Regola quarter. The testatrix

bequeaths to her Son Angelo six gold florins, a knife and a pair of sheets; to the priest, John the Englishman, one gold florin for his soul's sake: to two others 30*s*. each and to the rector of St. Mary de Campitello 20*s*. for the like cause, and the residue of her property to be disposed of by the executors of her will.

Done at Rome in the English House, in the presence of seven witnesses, all of whom are Englishmen, now resident in Rome.

6. [1] Acquittance [1365] in consideration of the payment of a letter of credit drawn by James Jacomini of Florence, and presented by Sir John and Sir Richard for 12*l* sterling or 74 gold florins.

7. [1]Acquttance (dated 1365) from Maria, Wife of Isaac, of Bruges in respect of a letter of credit for 18 gold florins, payable by Ugolini Martelli of Bruges.

[1] The first part of this document is mutilated.

THE PORTRAITS OF HISTORIANS IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

By Sir Charles Harding Firth, LL.D., F.B.A., V.P.R.Hist.S.

Read May 10, 1923.

The portraits in our national collection may be studied in many different ways. They may be treated as examples of Art, as illustrations of the life of some period of British history or as representations of some particular class of men. It seemed to me that a society composed of students of history might be specially interested in the portraits of historical writers. The men of a particular time have a certain resemblance to each other—there is a family likeness in the faces of the Tudor or the Stuart worthies. Soldiers and sailors, lawyers and divines, even when they belong to different periods, seem to possess some common characteristics in feature and expression which a psychologist could trace and define. But the historical writers seem to have no typical or distinctive traits. Nothing in their looks reveals common interests or common pursuits, except that some of them have a bookish air. No doubt the reason is that many of them were politicians or men of action, not merely writers by profession, and it is to our advantage that it was so.

Our series of historians is a long one. It begins with a man who was born in the reign of Edward IV and ends with a man who died in the reign of George V. In other words, the first in the series is Sir Thomas More and the last Lord Bryce.

Our portrait of More is described as painted by a pupil of Holbein—from an original crayon portrait drawn from the life by Holbein, which is in the Royal Collection at

Windsor. It represents More at the age of forty-seven, that is in 1527 (or forty-nine if he was born in 1478)—some years after the publication of *Utopia*, between the time when he was Speaker of the House of Commons and the time when he became Lord Chancellor. The *History of Richard III*, on which his claim to be regarded as a historian rests, is said to have been completed about 1513, was largely quoted in *Hall's Chronicle* in 1548, and was printed in More's works in 1557. But there is a controversy about it: the question is whether the Latin original was by More or by Cardinal Morton, and the balance of opinion seems to be in favour of Morton. On the other hand, no one doubts that the English version, which is in some respects an amplified version of the Latin, was written by More, and the life and vigour of the style is so remarkable that it justifies his claim to the first place in our list.

Several other Tudor historians, besides the author of the *Life of Richard III*, preferred to write in Latin, partly because it was the language of scholars, and partly because it secured them a European as well as an English audience. Foxe, Buchanan and Camden are instances. John Foxe, the martyrologist, published his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, in its original form, in Latin at Basle in 1559, and the first English edition appeared at London in 1563. Foxe's portrait, by an unknown artist, was presented to the Gallery in 1858. It is dated 1587, the year in which Foxe died. He was a partial, prejudiced and inaccurate writer, but much of the English part of his history is based on original authorities, and his vivid and vigorous style made the vast compilation popular. Four editions of it were published during his life, and five in the century which followed his death.

Our portrait of John Knox was presented to the Gallery by the 5th Duke of Buccleuch in 1859. No subject has roused more controversy than the portraits of Knox. Carlyle wrote an article on the question in *Frazer's Magazine* for April, 1875, about a portrait known as the "Somerville"

portrait. He regarded that as the only representation of the reformer which could possibly be the real man. He was answered by James Drummond, curator of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, in a paper published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* in 1875, entitled "Notes upon some Scottish Historical Portraits: John Knox and George Buchanan." Drummond completely disproved Carlyle's theory and other evidence against it has come to light since.

The question whether a trustworthy portrait of Knox exists depends on the question of the genuineness of the engraved portrait in Beza's *Icones* in 1580. An entry in the Treasurer's accounts shows that two portraits painted by a Fleming named Adrian Vaensoun were sent to Beza about that date, and paid for in 1581 by the Treasurer. Further, a letter found in the Ducal Library at Gotha, written from Peter Young to Beza in November, 1579, shows that these were the portraits of Knox and Buchanan, and that no portrait of Knox was painted while Knox was alive.[1] Young gives a very full and precise account of the appearance of Knox, which corresponds with the engraved portrait.

Our portrait in the Gallery is described by Sir George Scharf as "probably by an Italian artist." He describes it as

> "A half-length figure, standing to the right, wearing a dark dress and black cap, more in the manner of an Italian prelate. . . . His hair is very dark brown, and his black eyes look at the spectator."

Now Young's careful description of Knox's eyes says "color eis erat in fusco caeruleus," which probably means a greyish blue, and the face represented in our portrait is not much like that in the engraved portrait.

I am afraid that the portrait in the Gallery cannot be accepted as a true likeness of Knox, and is probably a portrait of someone else.

[1] *See* Hume Brown, *Life of Knox*, 1895, ii. 320–24; Caw, *Scottish Portraits*, i. 37.

George Buchanan's portraits have also led to much controversy. In the latter part of the eighteenth century David, Earl of Buchan got together a great collection of portraits of eminent Scots. Amongst them was a portrait he believed to represent Buchanan. He described it as

"that charming portrait of Buchanan which was painted by Titian for Mary of Guise, Queen Dowager of Scotland, whose seal of property is on the back of the picture, which was purchased at the sale of king Charles's pictures by the Portuguese envoy, and carried into Portugal, from whence it was a few years ago brought to London."

This story is absurd. It is very unlikely that Mary of Guise would wish to possess Buchanan's portrait, it is impossible that Titian could have painted one, and it is certain that no such portrait was amongst the Titians possessed by Charles I.

However, the attribution of the portrait was accepted, and three copies were made of it by Sir Henry Raeburn for the Buchanan Society of Glasgow, for David Cathcart, Lord Alloway, and for Buchanan of Drummikill. Lord Buchan's original disappeared for many years, but turned up again in the possession of an Edinburgh dealer, and was purchased by the University of St. Andrews in 1884. It was finally identified as a copy of a portrait of the famous President Jeannin (1546–1623), which is now in the public gallery at Dijon.[1]

There is another portrait of Buchanan of which three different versions exist. The first is the engraved head which appeared in Boissard's *Icones* in 1597. It represents Buchanan at the age of seventy-six according to the inscription round it. A reproduction of it is the frontispiece to Hume Brown's *George Buchanan*, 1890. The second is the painting on view in the National Portrait Gallery. The face is the same, but it is a three-quarters length figure. Buchanan is standing behind a table: the right arm is

[1] "On the so-called Portrait of George Buchanan by Titian." By William Carruthers, *Scottish Historical Review*, VI, 337; VII, 106.

bent and the hand holds an open book; the left arm is extended and the hand rests on the table. It is dated 1581. The third is a half length, painted on an oak panel: the face is much the same, but the figure is sitting: the right hand holds a closed book resting on another volume, the left rests on the table. It is dated 1580, and was acquired by the University of St. Andrews in 1909. Mr. William Carruthers argues that this was painted earlier than the three-quarters length. He points out also that King James authorized the payment in August, 1580, of eight pounds to Arnold Bronckhurst for "Ane pourtraict of Mr. george buchanane"[1] and suggests that the St. Andrews' panel is the original painting for which this sum was paid, and that the National Portrait Gallery picture is a larger version of it painted for the King a year later. On the other hand, both Mr. Holmes and Mr. Milner are of opinion that the St. Andrews' portrait is not an original, but a version of some such portrait as that in the Gallery, and painted perhaps as late as 1620.[2]

It is a comfort to pass from doubts to certainty. The glory of Elizabethan learning was William Camden. The first edition of his *Britannia* appeared in 1586; the last published in his lifetime was the 6th edition, which appeared in 1607. Our portrait, painted by Marc Gheeraedts, was painted, according to the inscription upon it, in 1609, when Camden was fifty-eight years old. It represents him in the interval between his two great works, for the first part of his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* appeared in 1615 (though the second was not published till 1625, two years after its author's death). This portrait belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, and came to us from the British Museum in 1879. In the Bodleian there is another portrait of Camden by the same artist which was given to the University by Degory Wheare, first holder of the professorship which Camden founded at Oxford.[3]

[1] P. 354.

[2] "Discovery of a lost Portrait of George Buchanan." By W. Carruthers, *Scottish Historical Review*, VII, 286.

[3] Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, I. 32.

Another portrait which was transferred to the Gallery from the British Museum is that of Camden's friend, Sir Robert Cotton. Cotton himself wrote little save a short life of Henry III and a few tracts, but he was the friend and helper of all the historians of his time. His library and his collection of historical documents filled the place of the British Museum, and one might say of the Record Office too. He accompanied Camden in some of his searches for Roman monuments, and helped him with notes and papers for his *Annals*, he assisted Speed in his *Chronicle*, and all the antiquarians and learned men of the time owned their debt to him. Some he inspired as well as helped. It was out of a virtuous emulation of Cotton that D'Ewes was first led to study records and to collect old manuscripts. In July, 1626, he mentions in his autobiography that he occupied himself in transcribing Fleta,

" an old law manuscript which I borrowed of Sir Robert Cotton, England's prime antiquary ; whose picture down to the middle, I caused this month to be very lively and exactly taken, being the first and the only excellent representation that was ever taken of him, and which I now highly value, and have placed in my library as a select and choice monument."

Three or four years later Cotton got into trouble through the circulation of a paper copied from his MSS. which was construed to be an attack on the government of Charles I. He was prosecuted in the Star Chamber and his library was threatened with confiscation.

" When I went to visit him and comfort him," says D'Ewes, " he would tell me they had broken his heart that locked up his library. He was so outworn in a few months with anguish and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well coloured, and such as the picture, I have of him shows, was wholly changed into a grim, blackish paleness near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage." [1]

It seems probable that the picture in the National

[1] *Autobiography of Sir S. D'Ewes*, I, 303 ; II, 42.

Portrait Gallery is the one to which D'Ewes refers in these passages.[1]

Around Camden and Cotton is a cluster of half a dozen antiquarians all more or less friends.

One is the chronicler John Speed : the most learned and most critical of the chroniclers, if not the most racy in style. In his *History of Britain*, which appeared in 1611, he was much helped by Cotton, who looked over his proof sheets, lent him MSS. which he quoted, and coins whose pictures adorn his pages. Speed's portrait came to us from the British Museum (and "he is in effigie, a faire monument not much unlike Mr. Camden in the South side of the Chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate").

Like another Annalist Stowe, Speed was a tailor, and Sir Henry Spelman said to Dugdale, "we are beholden to Mr. Speed and Stowe for stitching up for us our English History."

Spelman himself wrote much on legal antiquities and the history of English institutions, and began a collection of *Counsels and Laws of the English Church*, of which the first volume appeared in 1639. "A handsome gentleman, strong and valiant, and wore always his sword till he was about 70 or more" says Aubrey.[2] He was buried in Westminster Abbey—very appropriately "at the foot of the pillar opposite Mr. Camden's monument."

Spelman's portrait, bought in 1894, is attributed by some to Van Somer, by others to D. Mytens.

John Selden (1584–1654) was twenty years younger than his friend Spelman.

He was usually styled, says Wood, "the great Dictator of learning of the English Nation" and in the parliament of Charles I he was the oracle on constitutional precedents. *The History of Tithes*, *Mare Clausum*, and many other works

[1] The *D.N.B.* mentions three portraits of Cotton. One in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries attributed to P. van Somer, who died in 1621. That in the British Museum transferred later to the National Portrait Gallery. A third by C. Johnson, painted in 1629.

[2] *Brief Lives*, II, 231.

justify his fame. This portrait, which had passed through the hands of Walpole and Cole, came originally from the Sheldon family of Worcestershire, and was purchased by the Trustees in 1859. Aubrey describes him thus :

" He was very tall, I guesse about 6 foot high, sharp ovall face ; head not very big, long nose inclining to one side ; full popping eye (gray)."[1]

There are four portraits of Selden in Oxford : three in the Bodleian ascribed to Lely, and a fourth with a more aquiline nose and a longer face in the Ashmolean. Our portrait is more like that in the Ashmolean.[2] That in the Ashmolean was bequeathed to the University by Elias Ashmole in 1692.

Selden died in 1654, and was buried in the Temple Church. His funeral sermon was preached by his friend Archbishop Usher—almost as learned a man. Usher had made ecclesiastical antiquities his province : the early history of the British and Saxon Churches, and the origins of the Church in general.

Our portrait, which is by Lely, was painted in this same year, 1654, when Usher was seventy-four years old. There is one of the same date in the possession of the Earl of Devonshire, and the Bodleian possess one painted by William Fletcher ten years earlier. Of the latter Rous, Bodley's Librarian at the time, said :

" The picture . . . if I be not deceived is as good a piece for resemblance as hath been made by any man." [3]

The youngest and last of this group of antiquarians is William Dugdale, 1605–1686.

When he was born, says Aubrey, a swarm of bees came and settled under the window of his mother's room " as it were an omen of his laborious collections." [4]

There are three portraits of Dugdale at different dates.

[1] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, II, 223.
[2] Poole, *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits*, I, 49.
[3] Poole, *Oxford Portraits*, I, 51.
[4] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, I, 241.

There is an engraved portrait by Hollar dated 1656, in which he is wearing a high crowned hat, and seated at a table bearing volumes of the *History of Warwickshire* and the *Monasticon*. There is another dated 1665 by Petrus Borseler, in the possession of the Dugdale family. There is a third type of portrait of which ours in the National Portrait Gallery is an example. In some versions of this later portrait he has the badge of Garter, or Norroy suspended by a chain from his neck. Our portrait is one of the Cottonian pictures transferred from the British Museum in 1879. The jewel hung from the neck is not there, which perhaps indicates that the portrait was painted before 1663 [1] when we know that he had the jewel made.

Some of our seventeenth-century historians were famous as men of action or statesmen and their historical writings filled but a small place in their lives. Sir Walter Raleigh's great folio on the *History of the World*, which was published in 1614, was the occupation of his imprisonment in the Tower for the previous ten years. The portrait of Sir Walter in the Gallery is dated 1588, and represents the adventurer who endeavoured to found a colony in Virginia rather than the captive who became an historian. It is a half length, attributed to Zucchero, and doubtless copied from one of the larger pictures by that painter. This portrait, which was purchased by the Trustees in 1857, just after the establishment of the Gallery, is said to have been formerly in Carew Raleigh's house at Downton. It is inscribed "1588 aetatis suae 34," which would make the date of Raleigh's birth 1554 instead of 1552, as usually stated. No doubt this is the portrait which Aubrey describes in his reminiscences.

"In the great parlour at Downton at Mr. Raleigh's is a good piece (an original) of Sir W. in a white satin doublet all embroidered with rich pearles, and a mighty rich chaine of great pearles about his neck, and the old servants have told me that pearles were neer as big as the painted ones."

[1] Hamper, *Diary and Correspondence of Sir W. Dugdale*, p. 118.

Aubrey goes on to say that Raleigh:

"had a most remarkable aspect, an exceeding high forehead, long faced, and sour eie-lidded, a kind of pigge-eie." [1]

Bacon's *Life of Henry VII* was produced after his fall from power: it appeared in 1622. The portrait of Bacon in the Gallery is by Paul van Somer: it represents him as Lord Chancellor and was painted in 1618. In the account book kept by one of Bacon's servants there is an entry under September 1, 1618: "Paid the Picture-drawer for your Lp. picture £33.0.0," which no doubt refers to this portrait.

The Gallery also possesses a seated statue of Bacon, electrotyped from the white marble monument in St. Michael's Church near St. Albans, which Aubrey describes.[2]

Bacon's *Henry VII* inspired Lord Herbert of Cherbury to write the *Life of Henry VIII*, which was published in 1649, a year after its author's death. Lord Herbert's portrait was purchased by the Trustees in 1877. It was a half length said to be painted by a mysterious William Larkin.[3] The story of the portrait is told in Herbert's autobiography. He says that "one Larkin" painted his portrait in 1610, and that the original was to be given to his friend and fellow-traveller, Sir Thomas Lucy. The portrait was much admired and Herbert himself was now becoming famous. "I was in great esteem both in court and city," he tells us. Richard, Earl of Dorset, who was amongst his admirers, procured a copy of it, and not only Dorset, says Herbert,

"but a greater person than I will here nominate got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her Cabinet, gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished."

[1] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, 1898, II, 184.

[2] See Spedding, *Bacon's Works*, XIII, 335. In the introduction to Vol. I of the edition of 1875, there is a discussion of the portraits of Bacon (pp. xv–xxi). Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, I, 76.

[3] According to the historians of art the name should probably be Lockie, not Larkin.

This mysterious admirer is supposed to have been Queen Anne, the wife of King James.

Not only Queen Anne, but a Court lady who attended on her, the wife of Sir John Ayres, obtained a copy of the picture, and she went further, and employed Isaac Oliver, the miniature painter, "to draw it in little after his manner." Lady Ayres had the miniature set in gold and enamelled, and so wore it about her neck so low that she hid it under her breasts. This roused the jealousy of Sir John Ayres, who resolved to have Herbert's blood, and hiding himself with four armed men in a place called Scotland Yard, fell upon Herbert as he was riding to Whitehall. The fight is minutely described in the autobiography. Herbert was dismounted, and his sword was broken at the opening of the fray, and he was backed only by a foot boy, but he overcame Sir John Ayres, knocked him down three times, gave him four severe wounds, and so mauled him that he was taken home very sick in a boat.

The next in our series of historians is the great Earl of Clarendon. His *History of the Rebellion* was written during two different exiles: the first part in Jersey between 1646 and 1648, the second in France between 1671 and his death in 1674. It was not published till 1702–4. Our portrait, which is said to be Gerard Soest, was purchased by the Trustees in 1887. According to Mr. Collins Baker, Soest was painting in England from 1644 (or at least from 1651), and this portrait of Clarendon was painted some time in the 'fifties, probably in 1658.[1] On the other hand, as Clarendon was out of England from 1646 to 1660, the date assigned seems quite impossible. Apart from that, during his exile Clarendon was far too short of money to afford a portrait. It was probably painted some time after 1660, about the same date as Lely's portrait of him in his Chancellor's robes. "A fair, ruddy, fat, middle statured handsome man" is the description of him by a traveller who saw him in 1668.

[1] *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, I, 207.

Clarendon is interesting because in the days of his greatness he attempted to form a National Portrait Gallery of his own. "He collected," says Evelyn, "the pictures of as many of our famous countrymen as he could purchase or procure," and though the collection was broken up by his successors, large parts of it were kept together.[1]

Bishop Burnet has a double claim to inclusion. The *History of His Own Times*, of which one volume appeared in 1723, and the other in 1734, places him by the side of Clarendon amongst the Memoir writers. On the other hand, the *History of the Reformation*, which appeared in three volumes in 1679, 1681, and 1714, entitles him to a place amongst professional historians. The portrait of him in the Gallery is said to be by John Riley, and to be dated 1690. It represents Burnet as a bishop, and as he became bishop of Salisbury in April, 1689, and Riley died in March, 1691, the date is probable enough.[2] It is therefore of much the same date as the portrait of Burnet by Kneller. Evelyn says in his *Diary* under June 9, 1689, "Visited Dr. Burnet, now Bp of Sarum; got him to let Mr. Kneller draw his picture." This portrait by Kneller, which is a full length, was in 1867 in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.

> "A portly prince and goodly to the sight
> He seemed a son of Anak for his height"

says Dryden, who adds that he was "Blackbrowed and bluff; like Homer's Jupiter." Our portrait hardly shows these physical characteristics so well as the full length Kneller.

During the eighteenth century historical composition became such a popular exercise that it becomes more difficult to say which writers are entitled to be classed amongst

[1] Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, 1879, III, 436. Letter to Pepys, Aug. 12, 1689, and *Diary*, Dec. 20, 1668. The history of the collection is traced by Lady Theresa Lewis, *Lives of the Contemporaries of Lord Clarendon*, 1852.

[2] Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 1912, II. 32; *Catalogue of the National Portrait Exhibition of* 1867, no. 37.

historians. Bolingbroke can hardly be included in spite of his *Letters on the Study of History*. Swift cannot be included, though he dabbled in the history of the Norman Kings, wrote an account of the *Four Last Years* of Queen Anne's reign, and applied for the post of Historiographer Royal. Both were essentially political pamphleteers. Are we to include Memoir writers?

Two at least deserve inclusion. Lord Hervey's *Memoirs* cover the reign of George II from 1727 to 1737, and contain much of the political history of the time as well as the personal history of the writer. His portrait in the Gallery represents him as Lord Privy Seal "with the square embroidered purse of his seal of office upright on his knee." It was painted by Van Loo about 1740, three years before Hervey's death.

Horace Walpole's claim to be included is clearer. He published in 1768 his *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of Richard III*, which is of real interest as an early example of the critical investigation of an historical problem. Moreover his *Memoirs of the Reigns of George II and George III* extend from 1751 to 1771, and are an attempt to write contemporary history rather than a collection of reminiscences. Walpole is represented in the Gallery by three portraits—the paintings by Eccardt and Hone represent him early in life, the drawing by Dance shows him at the age of seventy-six. As Clarendon and Burnet for some time shaped the opinions of the historians of the next generation, so Walpole long influenced those who wrote on men and the events of the twenty years he narrated. Of late his authority has been diminished by the critical examination to which the Memoirs have been subjected.

A third politician of the eighteenth century preferred to write about the past rather than his own times, namely, the first Lord Lyttelton. He was made a peer in 1757, and after his retirement from politics published a life of Henry II, which began to appear in 1764, extended to four volumes, and passed through several editions. Bishop

Stubbs once spoke well of it to me. Gibbon is less favourable: he terms it "that voluminous work in which sense and learning are not illuminated by a ray of genius." Dr. Johnson is still more hostile: he describes it as

"elaborated by the searches and deliberations of 20 years, and published with such anxiety as only vanity can dictate."

It was certainly corrected with unusual care: the last edition contains nineteen pages of errata, and Lyttelton is derided by Johnson for hiring a Scotchman to punctuate it. Probably Johnson's criticism was influenced by political bias. Lyttelton had been one of the chief orators of the "Patriots" against Walpole. A caricature of 1741 represents the leaders of the Opposition rushing to Whitehall to overthrow Walpole. Lyttelton rides behind the coach which conveys Argyle and Carteret. Verses beneath say:

> Who's dat who ride astride de poney
> So long so lank, so lean, and bony
> Oh he be de great orator Little-Toney.[1]

Again, in 1756, Lyttelton is caricatured as Cassius and The Advocate.[2] "I have a lean and hungry look," says Cassius, and the portrait in the Gallery, presented by the fourth Lord Lyttelton in 1861, bears out the statement.

Turn now to the professional historians: there are a few of them amongst the eighteenth-century portraits in the Gallery. We have three who wrote ancient history. First comes Nathaniel Hooke whose great work was his *Roman History* in four volumes (1738–1771), which extended from the building of Rome to the ruin of the republic. It long held a high place in historical literature, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But Hooke's most profitable work was the compilation of the *Duchess of Marlborough's Account of her Conduct*, published in 1742, for which he is said to have got £5,000. His portrait by Bartholomew Dandridge was presented to the Gallery in 1859.

[1] No. 2479. *The Motion.*
[2] Nos. 3513 and 3527.

Conyers Middleton, whose portrait was painted by John Giles Eccardt, earned fame by the *Life of Cicero* which he published in 1741. In ten years it went through four editions, and he bought himself a small estate with the profits. Middleton was famous as a writer of pure English, and some contemporaries compared him to Addison, but it is as a sceptic and a free-thinker that he is chiefly remembered now.

It was not, however, to Hooke or to Middleton that the unlearned public went for a knowledge of ancient history. Oliver Goldsmith's *History of Rome* appeared in 1769, his *History of Greece* in 1774; both of them were abridged for the use of schools. Between the two came his *History of England*, published in 1771. For the *Rome* he got £250, and £50 more for the abridgment; for the *English History* he received £500. Goldsmith's histories are so much forgotten that the *Catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery* omits all mention of the fact that he was an historian. He made no researches, and claimed no originality, but there was one branch of the historian's art in which he excelled: the art of abridgment. "The business of abridging the works of others," says Goldsmith in his preface to the *History of England*,

"has hitherto fallen to the lot of very dull men, and the art of blotting, which an eminent critic calls the most difficult of all others, has been usually practised by those who found themselves unable to write. Hence our abridgments are generally more tedious than the works from which they pretend to relieve us."

He did not see why this should be so, and set himself to produce what he defined as

"a plain unaffected narrative of facts, with just ornament enough to keep attention awake, and with reflection barely sufficient to set the reader upon thinking."

This aim he achieved. "He has the art of compiling, and of saying everything he has to say in a pleasing manner," said Dr. Johnson. Much to Boswell's disgust, he preferred Goldsmith to Robertson.

"Goldsmith tells you shortly all you want to know; Robertson detains you a great deal too long. No man will read Robertson's cumbrous detail a second time, but Goldsmith's plain narrative will please again and again." [1]

Our portrait of Goldsmith, presented to the Gallery in 1890, is said to have been painted by a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Johnson's panegyric on Goldsmith was spoken in 1773. At that time Hume and Robertson were at the height of their reputation; the field of English history seemed to have become an appanage of Scotland, and Johnson needed a champion to set up against the Scots. Three years later Gibbon published the first instalment of his *Decline and Fall*, and the Caledonians were eclipsed. Our portrait of Gibbon in the Gallery is a small head painted by Henry Walton or Warton. Gibbon's friend, Lord Sheffield, who prefixed an engraving of it to his edition of Gibbon's miscellaneous works, says, "by far the best likeness of him that exists is that painted by Mr. Warton in 1774, before he became very corpulent."

This portrait was bought by the Trustees in 1906; there are also portraits by Reynolds and by Romney in the possession of Lord Rosebery and Lord Beauchamp, which were shown in the Oxford Portrait Exhibition of 1906.

The portraits of Gibbon's rivals Hume and Robertson are not in our collection, but both of them are in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland. If we have not Hume, we have Tobias Smollett, who turned from fiction to history soon after he had written *Roderick Random*. He began as a rival of Hume. Hume had published in 1754 the two volumes of his *History of England*, dealing with the Stuart period, was engaged on writing his account of the Tudor period, and was intending to write the earlier history of England when he had finished the Tudors. Smollett intervened in 1757 with his "*Compleat History of England*, deduced from the Descent of Julius Cæsar to the Treaty of Aix La

[1] Forster, *Goldsmith*, II, 115.

Chapelle, 1748, containing the transactions of one thousand and eight hundred and three years." The four quarto volumes appeared at the end of 1757. It was so popular that it was republished in sixpenny parts, once a week, with portraits, like Green's *Short History*; and 20,000 copies of this edition are said to have been sold. Encouraged by this success, Smollett commenced in 1763 a continuation of the *Complete History of England*, designed as a continuation of Hume's *History*, and carried his narrative from 1748 to 1765 in five successive volumes. As he also edited a voluminous *Universal History* by various hands (something like the Cambridge *Modern History*), and a compendium of geography in eight volumes, it is not surprising that his health gave way. He went to Italy in 1770 and settled near Leghorn, where he wrote *Humphry Clinker*. Our portrait in the Gallery was painted by an unknown Italian artist at Pisa about a year before Smollett's death.

"I am already so dry and emaciated, that I may pass for an Egyptian mummy," wrote Smollett to his friend John Hunter in the Spring of 1771, and he looks it.

There is another adversary of Hume's in our collection, Mrs. Catharine Macaulay. Between 1763 and 1783 she published a *History of England under the Stuarts*, intended to refute Hume by vindicating the Whigs and showing up the Tories. Horace Walpole, who was a Whig, said it was "the most sensible unaffected and best history of England we have had yet," and that she "exerted manly strength, with the gravity of a philosopher." Those who disliked her Whig principles attacked her looks. She was tall, and handsome, and they said she painted too much. But Dr. Johnson, with judicial impartiality, observed: "It is better she should be reddening her own cheeks than blackening other people's characters."

There is yet another historian of the Stuarts in the Gallery: James Macpherson, the compiler or author of the poems of Ossian. He produced a history of England from the Restoration to the death of Queen Anne, and printed

two volumes of papers in support of it in 1775. The portrait in the Gallery is a copy of one painted by Reynolds in 1772, who makes him look more honest than he was. It was three years later that Macpherson had his quarrel with Dr. Johnson. Johnson said that the poems of Ossian were an imposture invented by Macpherson, and Macpherson demanded a retraction, and threatened Johnson with violence. Johnson answered, "I shall never be deterred from detecting what I think to be a cheat, by the menaces of a ruffian." [1] Macpherson's reputation is so bad that a few years ago Colonel Parnell, in an article in the *English Historical Review* [2] endeavoured to show that he had forged some of the documents printed in his *Original Papers*, but it is generally agreed that there is no ground for this theory.

Macpherson's publication of these Jacobite papers in question was a real service to historians, but there is another editor of the period to whom we owe a much greater debt, Dr. Thomas Birch. He not only wrote a number of useful biographies, but also edited several collections of documents, of which the most important was the seven volumes of the *Thurloe State Papers*. Birch left a number of historical manuscripts to the British Museum, and his portrait was transferred to the Gallery from the Museum in 1879.

Birch's defects as an historian were of a different order from those of Macpherson. He was full of miscellaneous historical learning. Dr. Johnson said he had more anecdotes than any man—and he was accurate and industrious, but he was not an entertaining writer.

"Tom Birch is as brisk as a bee in conversation," said Johnson, "but no sooner does he take a pen in hand than it becomes a torpedo to him, and numbs all his faculties." [3]

Luckily there are some men whom the feel of a pen seems to inspire rather than benumb.

Our series of nineteenth-century historians opens with

[1] *Boswell*, ed. Hill, II, 292, 298.
[2] XII, 254.
[3] *Boswell*, I, 159, p. 255.

three writers, who gained fame in other fields of literature, though they incidentally wrote history too. Sir Walter Scott, in virtue of his *History of Scotland*, his *Tales of a Grandfather*, and his *Life of Napoleon*, as well as for the influence which he exerted in reviving an interest in the Middle Ages, claims a place in any account of the development of historical studies in Great Britain. In fact, so large a place that it would require a separate paper to give him his due. We have a large portrait of Scott by Sir William Allan, a sketch by Sir Edwin Landseer, and a bust by Chantrey.

All these portraits of Scott represent him late in life. On the other hand, the three portraits of Southey which we have were all drawn or painted when he was a young man—while the marble bust is a posthumous one, Southey's epics have been forgotten, but his lives of Nelson and Wesley are classics. Yet he valued his verses more than his prose. "By nature," said he, "I am a poet; by deliberate choice an historian." Eventually he came to prefer history. He urged Coleridge in 1818 to write a history of the reign of Charles I, telling him that "history was the most delightful of all employments," though he candidly owned that it did not pay. Southey hoped to be remembered by his *Peninsular War*, his *History of Brazil*, and his unfinished *History of Portugal* rather than the biographies which booksellers commissioned him to write.

Coleridge did not take Southey's advice, but William Godwin, after publishing his *Political Justice* and *Caleb Williams*, turned from philosophy and fiction to history, and produced in 1824–8 a *History of the Commonwealth*, which begins with an account of the Civil War. Though it is inspired by his republican zeal, it is based on authorities which Hume and other writers had not consulted, and for a generation it was the best book on the period. Godwin's portrait is by James Northcote, and was presented to the Gallery by Jane, Lady Shelley (wife of Sir Percy Shelley, the grandson of Godwin). If Southey is to be trusted,

Northcote must have softened the features of Godwin a little.

"He has large noble eyes," says Southey, "and a nose—oh most abominable nose. Language is not vituperatious enough to describe the effect of its downward elongation."

Even through the anxieties and distractions of the great war with France some writers succeeded in pursuing their historical studies with undisturbed persistency. William Roscoe published his *Lorenzo de Medici* in 1796, when Napoleon was conquering Italy, and his *Leo X* in 1805, the year of Austerlitz and Trafalgar. The Liverpool attorney who became a banker and a member of Parliament represents a new type of historian. He was the first man of business to devote his leisure to historical studies, and one of the first English historians who made the history of literature, art, and culture his theme rather than political or military affairs. The fact that he left school at the age of twelve, and was entirely self-educated, made his success the more remarkable. Creevey, his colleague in the representation of Liverpool, said that Roscoe's book was a miracle.

"That a man whose dialect was that of a barbarian, and from whom in years of familiar intercourse I never heard above an average observation—who had never been out of England, and scarcely out of Liverpool . . . that such a man should undertake to write the history of the revival of Greek and Roman learning and the formation of Italian . . . that such a history should be to the full as polished in style as that of Gibbon, and much more simple and perspicuous—that the facts of this history should be all substantiated by authorities in other languages, with frequent and beautiful translations by himself, is really too" . . .

Here words failed Creevey; he went on to regret

"that poor Roscoe after writing his beautiful history of his brother Bankers, the Medici, should not have imitated their prudence, and by such means have escaped appearing in that profane literary work, the *Gazette*." [1]

[1] *Creevey Papers*, II. 256.

Our portrait of Roscoe represents him in 1791 at the age of thirty-eight just before he published his Lorenzo. It was presented by his grandson, Sir Henry Roscoe.

Sharon Turner resembled Roscoe in one respect; he, too, was attorney; but he was not so elegant a writer, and he confined himself to English history. He wrote the history of England from the beginning to the death of Queen Elizabeth, publishing his work at intervals between 1799 and 1829. The most original part of his work was the first instalment, dealing with the period before the Norman Conquest, for Turner had been early attracted to the study of Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic, and his account of the literature and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons was fuller and more exact than anything hitherto published. It almost amounted to a revelation, and the scholars of the next generation owed a great debt to him. The latter part of his history, written before the Calendars made the Tudor State Papers accessible, or the Rolls series supplied properly edited texts of the chronicles, was of less value. Moreover, anti-clerical and anti-catholic prejudices sometimes influence Turner's estimate of men and events. The portrait of Turner now in the Gallery is by Sir M. A. Shee.

Patrick Fraser Tytler, the historian of Scotland, is in many respects a good parallel to Sharon Turner. He begun publishing his *History of Scotland* in 1828, and his first volumes had the honour of being reviewed by Scott. The last volume appeared in 1843. In his nine volumes he covered a period of 360 years, from the accession of Alexander III in 1243 to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in 1603. He was twenty years or more younger than Turner, and had one great advantage over him and over previous Scottish historians. The State Papers of the Tudor period, hitherto practically inaccessible, were at last available, so that Tytler's history of the relations of England and Scotland during the sixteenth century was a real contribution to historical knowledge and long retained its value.

Tytler's life was written by his friend Dean Burgon, and the letters it contains throw a good deal of light on the progress of historical studies during the period. His portrait in the Gallery was painted a couple of years after the completion of the History.

Sir James Mackintosh has a much greater reputation than Sharon Turner or Tytler, but it was as a politician and political philosopher that he earned it. His historical work consisted of a short compilation on the History of England (up to 1572) for Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, a *Life of Sir Thomas More*, and an unfinished *History of the Revolution of* 1688 which dealt with the reign of James II only, and ended with the trial of the Seven Bishops. Even this fragment was not published till two years after his death. It was then made the subject of one of Macaulay's Essays, and the State papers and newsletters which Mackintosh had collected supplied the foundation of Macaulay's account of the reign of James II and the Revolution of 1688.

Macaulay much overpraises Mackintosh's historical writings. They show "reading and a judicial temper," says Stephen, but not much power of telling a story, and not much research (except in the fragment on James II). Though the view that he was a great historian is only a Whig superstition, the letters and journals contained in his life are full of interest.

The portrait by Sir Thomas Laurence which is in the Gallery was painted in 1804, just before he went out to India, and should be compared with the engraving of the bust prefixed to his *James II*.

Another representative Whig historian was Henry Hallam (1777–1859), who is represented in the Gallery by a bronze medal by Wyon. Hallam was the most fortunate of historians, he started in life with a good estate, was given a good sinecure, and produced three successful books by the time he was fifty. The *Middle Ages* appeared in 1818, the *Constitutional History* in 1827, the *Literature of Europe* in 1837–9. The first two books went through eleven editions

each in his lifetime, and the third eight. Macaulay eulogized his *Constitutional History*, Milman his *Middle Ages*, and as soon as Queen Victoria married, she and Prince Albert set to work to read the *Constitutional History* to fit themselves for their political functions. He remained modest, and when Peel offered him a baronetcy, refused it on the ground that he was little more than "a collector of facts," and not one of those who had "carried forward the landmarks of human knowledge." The only hostile critic of Hallam is Sidney Smith, who complains that he was hypercritical and contradictory. At dinner, for instance, at Lord Holland's or some other Whig house, when Smith was telling his stories, Hallam, with "his mouth full of cabbage and contradiction," would keep saying, "I question that, I question that." At least, so Smith told Miss Martineau. Hallam's reputation for impartiality has hardly lasted.

Macaulay's articles on Hallam and Mackintosh in the *Edinburgh Review* are something more than critical examinations of the works with which they deal; they are political manifestos vindicating the constitutional principles of the Whig party on historical grounds, and cannot be regarded as impartial estimates.

Macaulay, who was one of the original trustees of the Gallery, is represented in it by a medallion by Marochetti and a painting by Sir Francis Grant; he appears also in two collective pictures.

The earliest is Sir George Hayter's picture of the interior of the Old House of Commons in 1833.[1] Next is the picture of a meeting of the Fine Arts Commission in 1846, in which Macaulay is one of the twenty-eight persons represented. It is by John Partridge, but owing to the use by the artist of certain injurious materials, the picture has become "totally obscured and disintegrated," so that it is no longer fit for exhibition. The bronze medallion by Marochetti was modelled in 1848, and therefore represents

[1] The sketch made by Hayter of Macaulay for this purpose is at present in Oxford in the possession of Mr. D. Nichol Smith.

Macaulay at the time when the first portion of his History appeared.

The portrait by Sir Francis Grant is the original study for a portrait painted for Speaker Dennison about 1857, when Macaulay's health had for some time been failing, and it is not a very satisfactory likeness.

Verbal descriptions of Macaulay elucidate and supplement these somewhat discordant pictorial representations. It is evident that he was a plain young man. His Cambridge friends, with the candour of youth, left him no doubt about it.

"Of regular beauty he had little to boast," wrote Praed, "but in faces where there is an expression of great power or great good humour, or both, you do not regret its absence."

Moultrie, the poet, is still more emphatic: he describes Macaulay as

"Little graced
With aught of manly beauty,"

and enlarges on this text with unflattering particularity. "Mr. Macaulay," said Lady Lyndhurst to him about 1831,

"you are so different from what I expected! I thought you were dark and thin, but you are fair and really, Mr. Macaulay, you are fat."

The difference between the descriptions of Macaulay and the later portraits is explained by his sister.

"Tom," she writes, "is very much improved in appearance during the last two or three years. His figure is not so bad for a man of 30 as for a man of 22."

The improvement continued. There is no lack of dignity or strength in the later portraits, in Marochetti's medallion, or H. B.'s drawings. Macaulay himself seems to have preferred a portrait by Richmond, to whom he sat in 1850. His sister said it was excellent; he wrote:

"I am no judge of the likeness; but the face is characteristic. It is the face of a man of considerable mental powers, great

boldness and frankness, and a quick relish for pleasure. It is not unlike Mr. Fox's face in general expression. I am quite content to have such a physiognomy." [1]

Unluckily it is not always possible to learn what an historian thought of his own physiognomy, but Carlyle is as candid as Macaulay was. In the National Portrait Gallery there is a bust, a medallion, a death-mask, and two portraits of Carlyle. Most people think of him as these later portraits represent him—hairy and prophetic-looking. To imagine Carlyle as he was when he wrote the *French Revolution* (1837) and *Cromwell* (1845), the medallion modelled by Woolner in 1855 should be studied first. It represents him without a beard, and Froude, who saw Carlyle first in 1849, calls it "by far the best likeness of him in the days of his strength." [2] The painting by Watts represents Carlyle in 1869—Carlyle did not like it:

"Decidedly the most insufferable picture that has yet been made of me, a delirious-looking mountebank, full of violence, awkwardness, atrocity and stupidity, without recognisable likeness to anything I have ever known in any feature of me." [3]

The Millais portrait was painted in the summer of 1877 when Carlyle was eighty-two. Froude, at whose entreaty the portrait was undertaken, says:

"In the second sitting I observed what seemed a miracle. The passionate vehement face of middle life had long disappeared. Something of the Annandale peasant had stolen back over the proud air of conscious intellectual power. The scorn, the fierceness was gone, and tenderness and mild sorrow had passed into its place. And yet under Millais' hands the old Carlyle stood again upon the canvas as I had not seen him for 30 years. The inner secret of the features had been evidently caught. There was a likeness which no sculptor, no photographer, had yet equalled or approached. Afterwards, I knew not how, it seemed to fade away. Millais grew dissatisfied with his work, and, I believe, never completed it."

[1] Trevelyan, II, 273.
[2] Froude, *Thomas Carlyle*, III, 459.
[3] *Ib.*, IV, 380.

Carlyle's own verdict was modestly uncertain:

"The picture does not please many, nor in fact myself altogether, but it is surely strikingly like in every feature, and the fundamental condition was that Millais should paint what he was able to see." [1]

It was this portrait by Millais that a woman attacked on July 16, 1914, with a butcher's cleaver, for which she was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Carlyle's long life makes him the central figure amongst the Victorian historians: the rest can be grouped round him. Born in 1795, he was five years older than Macaulay, and he died in 1881, twenty-two years after Macaulay.

Carlyle's biographer, J. A. Froude, is depicted in a drawing by J. E. Goodall. Froude was not only his biographer but his disciple.

"The practice of submission to the authority of one whom one recognises as greater than one's self outweighs," said Froude, "the chance of occasional mistakes. If I wrote anything I fancied myself writing it to him, reflecting at each word what he would think of it, as a check upon affectations."

Froude's *History of England from* 1529 *to* 1588 appeared between 1856 and 1870. The book was largely based on documents unknown to earlier historians, and in it a long series of moving incidents were picturesquely and dramatically told. It survives by virtue of its merits as a piece of story-telling, in spite of the defects and errors which its critics have pointed out.

Our two ancient historians belonged to the same generation as Carlyle. Thomas Arnold was born in the same year, but died almost forty years earlier; George Grote, a year older than Arnold or Carlyle, died ten years before him.

Arnold's *Roman History* was written under the inspiration of Niebuhr, whose prophet Freeman calls him; the narrative of the Second Punic War, which was published after Arnold's death, is the most original part of his

[1] Froude, *Thomas Carlyle*, IV, 461.

work, because there he was more independent. Arnold's conception of History was that of the Elizabethan historians : it was a teacher of moral and political wisdom.

"The history of Greece and Rome," said he, "is not an enquiry about remote ages and forgotten institutions, but a living picture of things present, fitted not so much for the curiosity of the scholar as for the instruction of the statesman and the citizen."

While Arnold represented the liberal movement of the time in politics and theology, Grote is chosen by Leslie Stephen to represent the Utilitarian School. The ten years which Grote spent in this House of Commons gave him a practical knowledge of political life which he brought to bear upon his reading, and inspired the reflections which he drew from the facts he narrated. In this respect Arnold and Grote resembled each other. Arnold's *Roman History* appeared between 1838 and 1842 and it had been preceded by his edition of *Thucydides* in 1830–5. Grote's work was published a decade later—the twelve volumes of his *History of Greece* came out between 1845 and 1856.

In the Gallery Arnold is represented by a bust, sculptured seven years after his death, and presented by Lee, bishop of Manchester, who was one of Arnold's undermasters at Rugby. Of Grote there is an oil painting which represents him at the age of thirty, some twenty years before he began the publication of his book.

Another branch of learning, ecclesiastical history, is represented by the portraits of Milman, Dean of St. Paul's from 1849 to 1863, and of Stanley, who was Dean of Westminster from 1864 to 1881.

Milman, who was born in 1791, spent the first half of his life in seeking fame as a poet and dramatist, then turned to history and produced in 1830 his *History of the Jews*, in 1840 his *History of Christianity* (which ended with the abolition of paganism in the Roman Empire) ; and finally, in 1854–5, the *History of Latin Christianity*, which is his best known work. The best estimate of Milman's book is

contained in the article upon him in Lecky's *Historical and Political Essays*. His History was eminently "a history of large lines and broad tendencies," and as a general survey it has not yet been superseded in spite of its many mistakes of detail. Freeman in his *Methods of Historical Study* delivers much the same verdict.[1]

Our portrait of Milman is by Watts, and represents him at the end of his life.

Stanley was about five-and-twenty years younger than Milman, and before he became Dean was professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford from 1856 to 1864. The three introductory lectures on the study of ecclesiastical history he delivered in 1857 show a very broad and liberal conception of his subject. The Lectures on the Eastern Church and other volumes show a feeling for the picturesque and romantic elements of history rather than the larger questions which interested Milman. His *Memorials of Canterbury and Westminster Abbey* compared with Milman's *Annals of St. Paul's* brings out the contrast. Stanley was rather a popularizer than a scholar, and it is as an ecclesiastical leader more than an historian that he has a claim to be remembered. He is represented by a model of the recumbent effigy on his tomb, by a portrait, and by a miniature.

We have two military historians, and a curious contrast they are. One is William Napier. His *History of the Peninsular War* was published between 1828 and 1840. The task was difficult and dangerous—difficult because so many of the records of the war were as yet inaccessible—dangerous because the events related were so recent. Wellington himself, who had thought of writing a plain didactic history of the war, gave up the plan because it was too soon.

"It was impossible to tell the whole truth," said he, "without wounding the feelings of many worthy men. I should do as much mischief as Bonaparte."

[1] Pp. 283–5.

But when he became indirectly acquainted with the contents of Napier's book (for the Duke always declined to read it), he said :

" Napier may be somewhat a radical, but by God his History is the only one which tells the truth as to the events of the Peninsular War."

An officer who saw Napier lying wounded—mortally wounded it was thought—on one of the Peninsular battle-fields, said he was the handsomest man he had ever beheld. Mrs. Opie, the novelist, said he was " like some young Venetian by Titian." An actor who saw him at sixty, in full uniform, said, more irreverently, that he was " a fine old game cock, and nothing else. Look at him, beak and feathers, he's a damned fine old cock."[1] The bust of Napier by Adams explains these opinions.

Kinglake was four-and-twenty years younger than Napier, and was a man of letters, not a soldier. But as Napier was inspired by the desire to vindicate the memory of Sir John Moore, so Kinglake wrote to vindicate the fame of Lord Raglan. His *History of the Crimean War* appeared between 1863 and 1867. He conceived the war as an epic of which Raglan was the hero, or a drama in which Napoleon III was the villain, and wrote without restraint or proportion. A critic who admired his vivid battle pictures said, " He beats Napier out of the field." Another said : " Kinglake tries to write better than he can write," and his elaborate rhetoric fatigues the reader. Matthew Arnold concludes his essay on *The Literary Influence of Academies* with a couple of pages on Kinglake's style—the Corinthian style he terms it—in which he points out its defects. Kinglake's portrait by H. M. Haviland was acquired in 1903.

There are ladies as well as soldiers amongst our nineteenth-century historians. Maria, Lady Calcott, author of *Little Arthur's History of England* (1835), instructed many generations of children, and reached a wider circulation than

[1] H. A. Bruce, *Life of Sir William Napier*, ii, 198.

any male historian. At the same time, judging from her unfinished portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, she surpassed in beauty the other female historians. Miss Agnes Strickland wrote the *Lives of the Queens of England* (1840–1848) and edited the *Letters of Mary Queen of Scots*. She, too, was a very popular writer. The *Queens* went through five editions, and it is said that over 11,000 copies of the final one has sold. Her portrait by J. Hayes was painted in 1846, and was engraved to form a frontispiece for her work. Miss Harriet Martineau's chief historical work was her *History of the Peace* (1815–1848). It is a vigorous and spirited narrative reflecting with fidelity the opinions and prejudices of the Radicals of that period, and for that reason possessing some of the value which contemporary memoirs possess, especially when it is elucidated by her autobiography. A painting by R. Evans and a drawing by G. Richmond commemorate her.

Mrs. M. A. E. Green wrote the *Lives of the Princesses of England*, in imitation of Miss Strickland, but with more learning than Miss Strickland possessed. She also edited about thirty volumes, of the *Calendar of State Papers*, and was a worthy representative of the pioneers to whose labour historians owe more than they always acknowledge. Her portrait was drawn by her husband.

There is one writer who stands rather alone amongst the Victorian historians, and belongs to an older school—Philip Henry, 5th Earl of Stanhope. He earned a modest fame by his own historical writings : *The War of the Succession in Spain* (1832) ; the *History of England from* 1713 *to* 1783 (seven volumes, 1836–1853) ; the *Life of the Younger Pitt* (four volumes, 1861–2) ; and the *Reign of Queen Anne* (two volumes, 1870). All of these books are of the same type : honest, unpretentious narratives, in which facts are accurately given and clearly arranged, and authorities always fairly quoted. But Stanhope has a more lasting claim to the gratitude of historians than even the real merits of his works would give him. To his exertions they owe the

existence of the National Portrait Gallery. Its foundation was due to a motion which he carried in the House of Lords on March 4, 1856, and from the opening of the Gallery in January, 1859, to his death in December, 1875, he was chairman of the Board of Trustees which managed it. He is therefore fitly commemorated, not only in the Gallery itself by a marble bust executed in 1854, but by a medallion which is placed over the entrance to the Gallery.

In the later Victorian writers there are evident signs of the development of a new conception of the aim of History and of the way in which it should be written. Lecky is an example of this. He was a true Victorian, for his life just covered the Queen's reign: born in 1838, the year of her coronation, he died in 1903, two years after her death. Lecky's *Rationalism* appeared in 1865; his *European Morals* in 1869; his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* was issued between 1878 and 1890. Stanhope's labours had provided the necessary foundation for a more comprehensive treatment of that portion of English history. Lecky attempted to go further: to combine the history of ideas and opinions with a narrative of events, to treat social and economic side by side with political history, and to show the intimate connexion which existed between them. In his preface he said that his aim was "to disengage from the great mass of facts those which relate to the permanent forces of the nation."

There is a terra-cotta bust of Lecky by Boehm in the Gallery, and a portrait by Watts, painted in 1878, which the artist himself presented a month or two after Lecky's death.

The life of Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London, also corresponds pretty closely with the reign of Queen Victoria. He died just eight days before she did. His *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome in* 1527 was written between 1880 and 1890, before he became a bishop. "I have taken," he explained, "the history of the Papacy as the central point of my investigation, because

it gives the largest opportunity for a survey of European affairs as a whole." It was for the same reason that Robertson had chosen Charles V for his subject. Creighton's originality lay in his manner of treating his theme. "I have contented myself with watching events," he said, "and noting the gradual development of affairs." Nothing could be more unlike the narrative method of Macaulay or Carlyle or Froude than Creighton's way of relating events. Lord Acton complained that his impartiality too much approached indifference, and that a serene curiosity seemed to be his sole emotion, that he confined himself too much to a mere statement of facts and concerned himself too little with the history of ideas. Whether just or unjust, these criticisms show that the severely objective method was something new amongst English historical writers.

The portrait of Creighton in the Gallery is a posthumous painting by Herkomer.

The two latest portraits of historians added to the collection are those of F. W. Maitland and Lord Bryce: Maitland painted by Miss B. Lock, Bryce by E. Moore in 1907. Both are excellent likenesses. These two historians were a curious contrast. Both preferred to study institutions and ideas. Bryce liked to survey, as from a height, a large field of history, many centuries or a continent. Maitland selected some small part of the field for investigation, and by ascertaining the full significance of particular facts, sought to reach a clear comprehension of principles. Bryce belonged to the race of the philosophic historians who flourished in the eighteenth century, but with a more open mind and more exact learning at its service than his predecessors possessed. Maitland descended from Selden and Madox, but in his method of research and in his union of analytical power and constructive imagination he was akin to the scientific discoverers of his own day.

Our survey of the Gallery is ended. It has revealed some gaps in our series of historians, but that series is so representative that it not only commemorates those who

did most to make the past history of the nation known, but also enables us to follow the development of the study of history and the art of writing it. For both reasons it seemed to me worth while to put these fragmentary notes together.

THE EAST MIDLANDS AND THE SECOND CIVIL WAR, MAY TO JULY, 1648.

By E. W. Hensman, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Alexander Prize, 1922.

It would be impossible, even if it were desirable, within the limits of this essay, to give a detailed account or even an adequate summary of the causes of the outbreak of the Second Civil War; but I may be permitted to dwell briefly upon the military conditions under which the crisis was to be met.

During the First Civil War many of the royalist and parliamentary strongholds were badly damaged by gunfire, and some of the fortified mansions and manor houses were entirely destroyed.

The outworks of the royalist towns and castles were frequently demolished as soon as they surrendered to the enemy; and in some cases the castles themselves were "slighted," or, in other words, rendered untenable as fortresses.

On the other hand, almost immediately after the surrender of Charles at Southwell, the defensive works of the parliamentary posts also were levelled to the ground, and the country levies who guarded them were allowed to return to civil life. Moreover, in order to minimize the local assessments required for their maintenance, the garrisons of those fortresses that remained were reduced to the smallest possible proportions, and their commands were sometimes deputed to officers of inferior rank, who were not all proof against bribes offered by the Royalists.

Let me illustrate some of these conditions by a few

examples out of many that might be cited from the records of the East Midland counties.

Newark surrendered on May 6, 1646, and within a week afterwards the works had been rendered untenable, and some parts of them had been completely levelled to the ground.[1]

The castle of Ashby-de-la-Zouch capitulated on February 28, 1646, and the articles of surrender provided that on the following Tuesday, March 2,

> "Colonel General Hastings shall begin to slight the works and fortifications of the town and garrison . . . and not forbear until the whole be slighted and unfortified."

By March 9 the works about the town were demolished; but two months afterwards, when, towards the end of the period allowed to him by the terms of capitulation, Hastings marched away with a hundred of his officers and servants, he had taken no steps to demolish the castle itself. It remained, therefore, intact, but apparently unoccupied; and not until the end of November, 1648, by which time the Second Civil War was over, was it reduced to practically the condition in which it may now be seen.[2]

In March, 1646, it was ordered that the parliamentary garrison of Leicester should be broken up, and that the works thrown up at the time of the siege should be levelled. In June of the same year the House of Commons decided that the defences of Derby also should be demolished "to the intent that . . . our country may be eased of unnecessary charges," and the soldiers employed there were offered the choice between disbandment and service in Ireland.[3]

Belvoir castle surrendered to Poyntz on February 3, 1646, and on March 1, 1647, Parliament directed the castle

[1] Shilton's *History of Newark*, p. 116; Thomason Tracts, E. 337, *passim*.

[2] E. 327 (1) and (25); Poynton's *Romance of Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle*, pp. 266 to 269.

[3] Thompson's *History of Leicester*, p. 400; Glover's *History of the County of Derby*, I, App., p. 82.

to be disgarrisoned and the new works to be slighted, the sum of £150 being paid to the troops in part of their arrears. This order was willingly obeyed, for in the Stathern Constables' Accounts, between the dates June 28 and July 6, there occurs the entry :—" Spent at Thomas Nixes of them that made an end of throinge in the bullworkes at belveore, 0 : 2 : 2." The castle, however, was not demolished until May, 1649.[1]

The garrison of the town of Nottingham was reduced in July, 1646. On October 13, the Governor granted a licence for a portion of the works at Trent Bridge to be taken down ; on November 18, a direction was issued that the guards should be taken off all parts of the town except the Cow Lane Bar, which stood at the end of what is now known as Clumber Street ; and early in 1647 there remained but the garrison of the castle itself. By that time Colonel Hutchinson had resigned the governorship to his kinsman, Captain Poulton ; and when a muster roll was called on January 27, 1648, those who answered to their names were

" Captain Poulton, one lieutenant, one ensign, two sergeants, three corporals, one gunner, one matross, and one hundred private soldiers." [2]

Now let us examine the condition of the armed forces of the country.

Before the end of 1647 the trained bands and militia had been dismissed, and some of their officers, whose commissions had either lapsed or been resigned, were back again in their places in Parliament.[3]

Large drafts from the New Model Army had been sent to Ireland, and scattered portions of it were employed in guarding those fortresses whose defence was still deemed

[1] *Commons' Journal*, V, p. 101 ; Eller's *Belvoir Castle*, p. 97. Brief extracts from the Stathern Accounts may be seen in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LXIX, No. 274, and 2nd Series, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 125–160.

[2] Bailey's *Annals of Nottinghamshire, passim*. A matross was an artillery man of lower rank than a gunner. For a full description of his duties see Bailey's *Dictionary*, Vol. II, 1731 edn.

[3] For a list of them see E. 454 (17).

of importance. The mobile force at Fairfax's disposal was, therefore, correspondingly diminished. The establishment, moreover, was drastically cut down in February, 1648; for, whilst the number both of officers and regiments was slightly increased, the number of privates in each troop of horse was reduced from 100 to 80, the strength of a foot regiment was brought down from 1,200 to 800, and the pay of the officers was considerably curtailed. One object of this measure was obviously economy. Another was efficiency; for it provided a good excuse for getting rid of insubordinate members of the rank and file, thus securing better discipline; and at the same time, it made it possible, by recruiting the regiments to their full strength at a time of stress, to provide a force stronger in point of numbers than the New Model Army, and this without causing any disturbance of the existing organization.[1]

The plan worked well on the whole, and the task of disbanding the supernumeraries was carried out in most places without much difficulty. In South Wales, however, it gave rise to serious trouble, and actually brought about the preliminary operations of the Second Civil War.

On the ground that his arrears of pay had not been settled, Colonel Poyer, the Governor of Pembroke castle, refused to hand over his command to Colonel Fleming, who had been appointed by Fairfax to succeed him; and he was afterwards joined by "an unruly company of Major-General Laughorne's own foot," which had been ordered to disband. Poyer chased Fleming and his men out of the town, captured Tenby castle, and openly declared for the King and the Book of Common Prayer. Chepstow castle fell to his supporters, and the rebel forces, which had now been joined by Laughorne and many of his men, after they had been paid off and disbanded, were so greatly augmented that Cromwell himself was sent to suppress them; and, though he had some 8,000 men under his

[1] Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, IV, ii. p. 992 *et seq.*

command, he was unable to complete his task until about the middle of July following.[1]

In the meantime serious riots, generally attended with loss of life, had taken place in London, Boston, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, Newmarket, and at other places within the bounds of the Eastern Association.[2]

Attempts had also been made by the Royalists to surprise and seize English castles and fortified towns, but most of the plots, such as those against the Tower of London, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Belvoir, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, were easily foiled by the governors of the fortresses or the local partisans of the Parliament. Others, however, were successful.[3]

Thus Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Charles Lucas, with 120 horse, gained possession of Berwick on April 28. On the next day Carlisle was also surprised, and its former governor, Sir Philip Musgrave, took command there once more. There was an understanding that both of these places should be handed over to the Scots when they should enter England; but this was not yet to be, for the Scottish forces were then insufficiently organized for an immediate advance, and public opinion in Scotland was not yet fully roused in favour of a new war.[4]

Warnings were of course sent by the Derby House Committee to the County Committees to strengthen their garrisons and guard against surprise, and money was hastily voted by Parliament for the repair of the more important of the ruined fortifications, such as those of Bristol, Hull, Scarborough, and Newcastle. It was easier, however, to

[1] Rushworth, IV, ii. p. 1016 *et seq.*; Gardiner's *Great Civil War*, IV, pp. 84–167, *passim*. Laughorne is sometimes wrongly called Langhorne.

[2] Rushworth, pp. 1071, 1119; E. 522 (23) and (29); Kingston's *East Anglia during the Great Civil War*, Chap. XIII.

[3] Rushworth, pp. 1034, 1050, 1113; Gardiner, IV, p. 95; Biron to Lanerick, *Hamilton Papers*, Camden Society, p. 167; E. 522 (23); *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, p. 60.

[4] Rushworth, pp. 1031, 1099; Whitelock, p. 302b; Gardiner, IV, p. 123.

vote the money than to collect it, and much depended on the loyalty of the localities concerned and on their readiness to raise troops in their own neighbourhoods.[1]

These precautions were taken none too soon, for on May 21 there began in Kent a royalist rising of so formidable a nature that Fairfax, who had been ordered to march northwards to meet the expected invasion of the Scots and had already sent on some of his horse, was forced to change his plans and turn his attention to matters nearer at hand.[2]

The history of this rising and of the siege of Colchester, which was its corollary, is of course well known. But I may point out that, amongst the principal royalist officers forced into the town by Fairfax's rapid movements, there were Henry Hastings, Lord Loughborough, and his friend Sir Charles Lucas, who had been closely associated with him in the Midland campaigns of 1644.

Hastings had been in Leicestershire at the beginning of May with the intention of putting a royalist garrison in Ashby castle, which, "though a place of considerable strength," was not yet "held by any souldiers for the Parliament." His presence in the neighbourhood was known to the Derby House Committee and notified by them to the Leicester Committee, with the request that they would "secure the guns and magazines of the County against the malignants in the Newarkes" and guard Ashby against surprise. They promptly responded by putting a parliamentary force into the building, and Hastings, finding his plan forestalled, withdrew to Essex, without apparently having been able to rally to the King's cause any considerable body of the local royalist gentry.[3]

Lucas, as we have seen, had been with Langdale in Berwick, and there seems good reason to suppose that they

[1] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 248, etc.; Rushworth, pp. 1070, 1099; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, p. 60.
[2] Gardiner, IV, p. 133; Rushworth, pp. 1108, 1113; E. 455 (10).
[3] *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, p. 60; Whitelock, p. 304b; E. 449 (35).

had agreed upon a plan for a general rising in the Eastern counties. As early as April 4 it was reported by an Edinburgh correspondent that the Royalists assembled there were confident of their ability to raise a large army for the King in England: and it was surmised

"that, if the Scots come into England, the Cavalliers will not come the way that they doe, but some distance from them, that they may the better free themselves from the Scots command, and yet advantage them by the Scots."

In a letter from York, dated June 10, it was stated that Langdale was expected to evade Lambert, "and wheel about Pomfret, if he can possible, and misse fighting." It is certain that he had been concerned in fomenting the risings in East Anglia, for on May 14, when the disturbance at Bury St. Edmunds was still going on, he and two other officers, "by virtue of His Majesty's Commission . . . for securing the Associated Counties," ordered the constables of the parish of Nowton "to send Twenty serviceable Horse to the Town of Bury, for the said service, with Arms and Men to as many of them" as they could furnish. Goring and his adherents, on the other hand, leaving Rochester after Fairfax's victory at Maidstone, were going northwards when Fairfax unexpectedly hemmed them in at Colchester. Their real objective has not been definitely ascertained, but the rumours current in the contemporary newspapers, the information received and the instructions sent out by the Derby House Committee, the drifting of small bodies of Royalists towards Lincolnshire, and the events to be detailed later, all point to the conclusion that a concentration of the King's supporters in the north, east, and south, was to take place either in the fen district or on the coast of Norfolk, where, if the partial revolt of the fleet of May 27 should become general, it might be possible to effect the "letting in of a foreign enemy." Moreover, according to one report of the St. Neots fight of June 10, Holland and Buckingham would have gone northwards through Northampton, after their earlier reverse near Kingston,

had they not discovered, when at Dunstable, that an impassable barrier had been raised against them by the newly raised forces of the East Midlands, who were flushed with success by their astonishing victories at Woodcroft and Willoughby.[1]

Let me now explain at some length what these victories were.

A certain Michael Hudson was rector of Uffington by Stamford in 1642. He enlisted under the royal banner as soon as the First Civil War broke out, fought at Edghill, and went with Charles to Oxford, where he was soon appointed one of the King's chaplains and made Doctor of Divinity. For a time he acted as Scout Master General under the Earl of Newcastle, and the topographical knowledge gained in that capacity served him in good stead when he afterwards accompanied Charles as guide on his journey to the Scotch army at Newark. He unsuccessfully attempted to arrange for the King's escape from Newcastle, and was captured and imprisoned in 1647. Towards the end of May, 1648, "the pack of knaves commonly called the Committee of the Tower" let him out of prison "to goe downe to Stamford to recover his (seemingly) lost health," and posting down to Rutland he found another "Martiall priest" named Stiles, "a drunken, cheating Parson," who had been minister of Crowland and Warden of Brown's Hospital in Stamford, and had "commanded as a Colonel in the Royal Army."[2]

They went together to Crowland, where they "drove a bargaine with an Ensigne under Collonel Underwood," the Governor, to yield the fortified minster to their party on the following Monday, June 5, and, with this understanding, Hudson "paid him 40*l.* in hand, and engaged for 60*l.* more at the delivery, and gave him the Prince's Com-

[1] E. 447 (2), 452 (15) and (28), 522 (17) and (40); Rushworth, pp. 1141, 1148; *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 269; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, p. 105.

[2] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1735 edn., Lib. IX, *passim*; E. 449 (8) and 522 (40). Kingston, p. 263, says that Hudson escaped "in disguise, carrying a basket of apples on his head."

mission to be Governour thereof." On the night of Saturday, June 3, they were back again in Stamford, where they were joined by "about 60 other notorious Malignants that had been in Armes." Here they "tooke up Horses, and robbed severall Passengers towards London of great summes of money," and set off again for Crowland on the Monday morning.[1]

The news of their proceedings was carried to Belvoir castle, which, early in May, had been secured for the Parliament by Colonel Markham, its former Governor, and was now garrisoned by a party of forty horse borrowed for a time from Colonel Twisleton, the commander of a regiment —Rossiter's old Lincolnshire regiment—marching towards Scotland under orders from Fairfax. Markham at once sent to Leicester and other places for reinforcements, and ordered thirty of his small force to march under Lieutenant Deane to an appointed rendezvous, probably Burleigh House, where they were to await the Leicester men.[2]

Colonel Waite, knight of the shire for Rutland, "a little man but of great resolution,"[3] "having sudden Intelligence . . . of something working in Rutland and the Parts adjacent" not for the advantage of the Parliament, had recently obtained permission of the Speaker to absent himself from the House of Commons in order that he might inquire into the matter. Finding his "Intelligence not to be altogether frivolous," he took upon himself, though without authority from the House, to secure the arms, magazine, and guns, in Burleigh House, of which he had formerly been Governor; then, "hoping all was pretty safe," he went to his house in Leicestershire on Saturday, June 3.[4]

[1] E. 449 (8) and 522 (40). From the latter it would appear that the ensign, finding that his plans had miscarried, again turned traitor, and placed 160 musketeers in ambush near Crowland to intercept Hudson's men on the night of the fight at Woodcroft. Underwood was a Major, not a Colonel; *see* Waite's letter, *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 313.

[2] *Lords' Journal*, X, pp. 267 and 314; E. 447 (24), 522 (40).

[3] E. 454 (17), 461 (14).

[4] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 313.

At three o'clock the next afternoon he received news of Hudson's doings, no doubt from Markham, and he went immediately to inform Lord Grey, who was spending the Sunday at his father's house at Bradgate, some five miles distant. He returned with Grey the same afternoon to confer with the Committee at Leicester, and there they learned that Sir Gilbert Pickering and some of the Committee of Northampton had also sent similar news and asked for help. It was agreed that Waite should ride at once to the scene of operations with a squadron of about twenty horse, which was all that were in the town at the moment, and that warrants should be sent "to some towns" that were "conceived to be best affected." The Mayor also was requested to call a Hall, by whom it was decided that the Leicester trained bands "should draw out on the next day." Five hundred of the country levies, including three hundred horse, flocked into the town on the Monday evening, and to these were added six companies of the Leicester men. Grey was earnestly entreated to take command of them, but, though "ready to stand in the Gap" when his "country was in danger," he declined the honour, since he had no authority to undertake military operations. He yielded, however, to further pressure, and sent a letter to Lenthall, supplemented by another from the Committee, requesting approval of his and their irregular proceedings. These arrangements had hardly been completed when the news arrived that Waite had "appeased the Businesse"; so the local forces were dismissed "with thanks for their Good Will."[1]

At two o'clock on the Monday morning Waite reached Burleigh, where he was joined by the Belvoir horse and sixteen supernumeraries, who were probably the men left in charge of the arms and ammunition on the Friday before. After resting and feeding their horses, and having been joined by some of Waite's old officers and soldiers, who

[1] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 314; Peck, Lib. IX, p. 45; Portland MSS., I, p. 455.

brought up their numbers to nearly a hundred, they marched to Stamford. They had not been long in the town when they received definite information of the whereabouts of the Royalists. They at once set off in search of them; and, finding Hudson's party refreshing man and horse in a close near Woodcroft Manor (a "strong built stone House, Moted about," which belonged to Lord Fitzwilliam, and was situated not far from Peterborough), they fell upon them unawares.[1]

The Royalists, we are told, were then "in consultation under a hedge in the aforesaid Close, their Horse grazing." "Parson Stiles, who dare not fight, with one or two others, suddenly mounted and made their escape" pursued by Waite's horsemen; but, after a chase of three miles, the fugitives found refuge in a wood and got clear away. The rest, however, "disputed the case for half an hour"; but when Captain Mercer, Captain Shaw, and Captain Hawkins had been slain, and Lieutenant-Colonel Green and about thirty men had been wounded, most of the party were captured, with all their arms and all but four or five of their horses. A few of the Cavaliers climbed over the hedges and escaped: but Hudson and about fourteen others retreated to the house, and made it good against their pursuers. Waite three times summoned them to surrender, but without success, and Deane's men endeavoured to force an entrance; but, night coming on, they were called off, after killing one and wounding two of the defenders.[2]

During the evening a message was sent to Major Underwood, who was asked to send a hundred foot from Crowland; and, these having arrived betimes on the Tuesday, the attack on the house was resumed at daybreak. In the meantime five of Hudson's men had been captured in an attempt to escape, but the resolute remainder had barricaded "all the doores and roomes." It would appear

[1] E. 447 (24) and 522 (40); *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 314.
[2] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 314; E. 447 (2) and (24), 449 (8), 522 (40).

that they also raised the drawbridge, for we are told that Lieutenant Deane, with the Belvoir, Leicester, and Stamford men, made their approach by crossing the moat on a causeway of faggots, losing two killed and three others wounded in the process. "Markham's rakeshames," however, having broken a hole in the wall of a lower room, climbed through the breach and killed two of the enemy. Hudson and his companions also entered the chamber, but, driven from room to room by superior numbers, and refusing all offers of quarter, they were forced at last to stand at bay on the flat leaded roof of a tower at one angle of the building. Three of the party then surrendered, but

"the soldiers being in a rage, threw Hudson and three others, who had slain their fellows, over the Tower into the moat, to satisfie the country people,"

who promptly dispatched them. Hudson himself, wounded in the head, clung to a "spout or outstone" until a halberdier cut off his fingers with his axe, and he was forced to loose his hold, and fell into the water. During his struggles to reach the bank, one Edgborough, a servant to the intruding minister of Castor, knocked him on the head with the butt end of his musket, and, when he was dead, one "Walker, a chandler or grocer in Stamford, cut out his tongue, and carried it about the country as a trophy."[1]

All but two of the prisoners were sent to Northampton, but the common soldiers were afterwards discharged "as being deluded by the Malignant Party." The two, however, having recently deserted the parliamentary cause, were "condemned in the Field by a council of War," though their execution was postponed for the time. In his letter to Lenthall, dispatched on the day of the fight, Waite asked for authority to carry out this sentence, and, after begging the authorities in London to "give these Countries

[1] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 314; E. 447 (24), 449 (8), 522 (40). The barbarous details of Hudson's end, taken from Peck, appear to be traditional, and we may hope, therefore, that they are not altogether true.

Power to save themselves," he concluded with this remarkable passage, "let me beg your Pardon for those engaged with me which were Volunteers, and, for myself, do what you please with me."[1]

Upon receipt of Waite's dispatch, his messenger, Nathaniell Barker, "which was a Volunteer in this Business, and did good Service," was rewarded with a grant of £20, to be paid by the "Committee of Lords and Commons for advance of monies at Habberdashers' Hall"; letters were sent to Waite, Boteler, Grey, and the Leicester Committee, thanking them in the most cordial terms for their readiness "to suppress such Insurrections and Rebellions in the Beginnings"; authority was given "to raise Forces for the Defence of those Parts"; and a letter was sent to Fairfax desiring him to grant Waite a commission to proceed against his prisoners by martial law.[2]

The fen district, with its port of Boston, seems to have been the local rallying point of the eastern Royalists; and, whilst Hudson was on his way to Crowland, a hundred and eighty of them "were listed in the marsh" for the purpose of seizing Tattershall and Bolingbroke castles. But the friends of the Parliament in Lincolnshire, collecting in a body, though "without horse to encourage and assist them," made such a show of force that the Royalists on two occasions declined to engage them and "laid aside their intention." Some of them, however, "desperate, went to join with Stiles," but they were apparently too late to help him. The whole neighbourhood indeed was swarming with malignants, and it was estimated that, had not Hudson been attacked at once, he would "in 24 hours have been 500 strong, and well furnished with provisions." The list of prisoners in "Perfect Occurrences" has the names of forty-two officers destined to raise forces for the King. Waite, moreover, reported that Hudson had a royal com-

[1] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 314; Rushworth, p. 1145.

[2] *Lords' Journal*, X, pp. 314 and 328; Peck, Lib. IX, p. 46; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, p. 115; Rushworth, p. 1145.

mission to raise twenty regiments of horse and as many of foot; and but for his readiness to take all risks, and his resolute determination "to suppress this Cockatrice in the Egg,"[1] there might have been in the East Midlands a repetition of the formidable Welsh insurrection, but with far different results. It is even conceivable that, had Hudson been unchecked at the outset, the forces marching towards Norfolk under Goring, Lucas and Capel, might have swollen to an army of such proportions that Colchester would either not have been besieged at all, or that Fairfax would have been unable to reduce it.[2]

Fairfax, indeed, soon found that every man in the regular army would be wanted for the accomplishment of his purpose; and, when help was requested for the Midlands and elsewhere, Parliament could do nothing more than encourage the local gentry to improvise measures for their own defence, authorize them to raise forces and levy assessments on their own districts to maintain them, nominate new Militia Committees for places of doubtful loyalty, formulate new and precise definitions of the rights and duties of such committees, and issue, on June 9, a general order that other committees and "other persons formerly entrusted with the militia" but "not since particularly disabled" should exercise "the several Powers given them by any Ordinance of Parliament for the Safety and Preservation of their several Counties."[3]

The Leicester men, who still had their magazine under their own guard in the Newark, took full advantage of these permissive regulations, and by June 20 they were able to report that, though their foot regiments were not yet complete, they had formed six regiments of horse and dragoons of three hundred each, who would be "upon their own charge" and would be ready to march at any time upon

[1] This expression is borrowed from Rushworth, p. 1039, where it is used in relation to the Poyer rebellion.

[2] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 314; E. 477 (11) and (24), 522 (37).

[3] *Lords' Journal*, X, pp. 267, 268, 303, and 315; *Commons' Journal*, V, pp. 584, 585 and 607; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, p. 109.

three days' notice. They were also forming an Association with Rutland and Northamptonshire, where both Presbyterians and Independents were cordially united. They specially referred to the services of Mr. Peter Temple, one of their members of Parliament, who had recently been excused from attendance on the House, and of Lord Grey, "whose interest doth the businesse," and who personally visited the several hundreds to urge on the work of organization. Grey was to be commander-in-chief of the new levies; Mr. Temple, Colonel Beaumont, Colonel Hacker, and Colonel Thomas Haselrig (Sir Arthur's brother), were desired as officers under him; and there wanted "nothing but power from the House to inable my Lord Grey to give Commissions to the Officers thus chosen by the Country." [1]

Lincolnshire's preparations were more backward. The Royalists there, who were numerous and fully confident of success, broke into stables and stole horses on which they rode away towards Pontefract. The Earls of Rutland and Lincoln, though nominally of the parliamentary party, were lukewarm in their allegiance, and their attitude was obstructive rather than helpful. The county magazine, moreover, had been removed to Hull, and could not, therefore, be used to arm such levies as could be raised in the locality. The situation, indeed, was so dangerous that Colonel Edward Rossiter, a member of the Derby House Committee, who had recently engaged a body of gentlemen volunteers to guard the Houses of Parliament after Fairfax's departure for Kent, and who was at the time occupied in watching the Royalists at Bow, was detached from this duty to take command of the forces raised for the suppression of the Hudson and Stiles rising, to exercise especial care for the safety of Belvoir castle, and generally to stiffen the resistance of the local parliamentarians. He seems to

[1] Letter from Market Harborough, E. 449 (29); Hacker to Lenthall, Portland MSS., I, p. 468. An entry in the Stathern Constables' Accounts shows that Grey was at Stathern on June 23, during one of his organizing rounds. It reads thus:—"Itt. spent at melton the 23th of June with the wel afected before me Lord Greay and Col. Hacker, 0 : 2 : 2."

have left London on June 6, for on that day his commission was sent after him "by the post," and he reached Lincoln a day or two afterwards. On June 10 instructions were sent to him and other local commanders to keep guards "upon the ways and passages" and arrest a party of Goring's Kentish men reported to be going northwards in companies "of two and three" to join Langdale. These instructions had, however, already been anticipated by Rossiter at a meeting with the Lincoln Committee held on June 9.[1]

On June 5 the Lincolnshire Commissioners for Assessments for Fairfax's army were authorized to raise a troop of 100 horse with officers of their own nomination, and to assess the county for its maintenance at not more than £500 per mensem, the ordinance to remain in force for six months. This troop was formed by June 23, but it had no pistols, and a request was sent to the Derby House Committee to supply them. By June 8, moreover, 60 horse had been got together to guard Belvoir castle. "Severall old Malignants," we are told, "offered themselves to be enlisted, pretending affection to the Parliament"; but they were promptly arrested "upon supposition" by Markham and afterwards "dismist away." An ordinance for settling the militia in the city and county was passed by the Commons on June 20, and assented to by the Lords, but it was not until July 1, when a royalist invasion of the county had begun, and the enemy was already in Lincoln itself, that, probably at Rossiter's instigation, the Parliament decided to nominate a new Militia Committee.[2]

The gentry of Nottinghamshire appear to have been

[1] *Lords' Journal*, X, pp. 273, 284, 305, 357, 421; *Commons' Journal*, V, p. 587; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, pp. 92–119, *passim*; Portland MSS., I, p. 455; E. 449 (40), 450 (15), 451 (29), 522 (40).

[2] *Lords' Journal*, X, pp. 303 and 359; *Commons' Journal*, V, pp. 584, 585, 607; Portland MSS., I, p. 455; Rushworth, p. 1158; and E. 449 (40), which gives an amusing account of Markham's arrest of one of the malignants.

even more strongly royalist than those of Lincolnshire. The Nottingham horse under Thornhaugh were serving with Cromwell against the Welsh; and the only force available for home defence was Poulton's tiny garrison in the castle. Early in March, Colonel Gilbert Biron, a brother of Lord Biron's, "meeting Captain Poulton, began to insinuate into him to betray" the castle, which was "then in a weak condition, and the soldiers discontented." Poulton thought fit to hold "his cousin Biron on in the treaty" until Colonel Hutchinson "could go to London and provide for the better securing of the place"; and, when this was done, "Poulton, who was too gentle-hearted to cut off Mr. Biron under a pretence of assenting to him, sent him to shift for himself." [1]

Having failed to gain the castle, the Royalists, on or about June 10, conspired to surprise the town; but Poulton, turning the tables on them, "surprised the complotters, and took them all prisoners." He was rewarded for his loyalty by a grant of £200 to be advanced and paid out of the estates of the delinquents who had engaged in the design; the newly nominated Militia Committee was authorized to raise a troop of horse to assist him; and it was also decided that £500 should be advanced "for Victualling, Repairing, Fortifying, and Managing the Castle"; but it is significant of the straits to which Parliament was reduced that the gentlemen of Nottingham were directed "to present to the House some Ways or Means How and Where the said money may be raised." [2] It is highly probable that Gilbert Biron, who had made an earlier attempt to corrupt Poulton, as long ago as 1645, was the author of this attempt also, and that, after failing a third time, he retired with his Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire

[1] *Hutchinson Memoirs*, Firth's edn., pp. 249 and 250. Lord Biron's letter to Lanerick, *Hamilton Papers*, Camden Society, p. 167, indicates the approximate date of this attempt.

[2] *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 278; *Commons' Journal*, V, p. 607; Whitelock, p. 307b; E. 522 (40).

friends towards Yorkshire, for we find him ere long at Pontefract, where we will now follow him.[1]

An abortive attempt on Pontefract castle had been made in May. This was followed by a second attempt on June 3, when Colonel John Morris and Captain William Paulden, by a clever ruse, effected their purpose, with the connivance of some of the guard.

The castle then became a harbour of refuge for the Royalists who flocked thither in ever increasing numbers from Yorkshire and more distant parts. Within a few days the town was besieged by eight hundred parliamentary horse and foot; but the strength of the fortifications, manned by resolute men, well armed and equipped from the stores within the castle vaults, made a close siege too hazardous a task for this little investing force to adventure.[2]

The garrison, however, had its difficulties also: for food was less plentiful than equipment; and the accession of Biron's party, together with Yorkshire contingents under Sir Philip Monckton and the Colonels Robert and Roger Portington, made such demands upon the commissariat, that, as Thomas Paulden relates, the town was "almost eaten upp, and wee so straitened that the foote were ready to mutiny for want of meate." There were also "some discontents about Commanders, many pleading that one had as good right to be a Colonell as another." On June 17, therefore, a council of war was called; and, though the results of its deliberations are not recorded, a comparison of dates suggests that it was in consequence of decisions then arrived at that three hundred of the horse, under the joint command of Monckton, Biron, and Michael Stanhope, rode away to Doncaster "to seeke subsistence for themselves and stand on their owne legges."[3]

[1] Moderate Intelligencer, No. 17, quoted in Firth's *Hutchinson Memoirs*, p. 438.

[2] Rushworth, pp. 1123, 1141; Whitelock, p. 307b; Holmes's *Sieges of Pontefract Castle*, pp. 149 and 150.

[3] Holmes, pp. 243, 303, 305; E. 451 (7); *Monckton Papers*, ed. Peacock, p. 22.

When they had quartered there for four or five days they were invited to march into Lincolnshire, with the understanding that Boston would be delivered to them, and that they would be joined by "divers thousands" from Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Rutland. Subsequent events, however, were to prove that they were sadly mistaken.[1]

Rossiter, meanwhile, had been conferring with the Lincoln Committee; and, having heard that the Cavaliers had designs upon the Isle of Axholme, he sent a party of horse there, "with a commission to an active gentleman to raise a company of foote" in order to secure "those passes, the inlet into" Lincolnshire. The islanders, however, were said to be ill affected, and they were certainly backward in enlisting. But this is hardly to be wondered at; for, as Rossiter admitted, they were "in no defensive posture" nor had they "any provision of armes to protect themselves or offend the enemy." The Royalists were to the north of them, Lincolnshire was "no way able to make resistance," and Overton, the Governor of Hull, had not as yet ventured beyond his walls.[2]

Now the Isle of Axholme, the borders of which lay but a few miles from Doncaster, was a district in the extreme north-west of Lincolnshire. About eighteen miles long by five broad, it was enclosed by arms of the Trent up to the point where that river enters the Humber. Once a forest, it had become a marsh; and, in 1625, it had been drained into the Trent by the great Dutch engineer, Vermuyden. Like the land reclaimed near the Wash a short time ago, it was extremely fertile; so much so that, during the First Civil War, it had supplied Newcastle's army with abundance of provisions, and had furnished York with timber and peat for fuel. We need not wonder, therefore,

[1] Holmes, p. 305; *Monckton Papers*, p. 22; E. 451 (15).

[2] Portland MSS., I, pp. 466, 467; E. 449 (40).—E. 522 (45) reports that Rossiter "caused the Boates to be taken away." The date of this report is June 29, but the measure was probably taken before the raiders entered the island.

that the Pomfraiters at Doncaster made it their first objective. Finding no force capable of resisting them, they passed into the island, shortly before June 23, with five hundred horse, foot, and dragoons, and plundered it at their will.[1]

On receipt of the news, which apparently reached him from Hull, Rossiter met the Lincoln Committee, and sent the horse in the city, 120 in number, "to discover the truth of the alarm." On the same day he received letters from Nottingham expressing fears for the safety of Newark, and suggesting that he should send a hundred of his horse into that town, where they should be joined on the following Monday, July 3, by five hundred horse and dragoons from the counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby. This being agreed to, Rossiter authorized Markham to raise sixty foot for the defence of Belvoir, and it was also decided that fifty men, commanded by Mr. Francis Fines, should be sent to secure the Earl of Lincoln's castle of Tattershall, and that Bolingbroke castle, hard by, should be demolished the next week by an engineer detailed for the purpose; Torksey castle near Gainsborough, and Hougham House, the home of the Royalist Brudenells, having already been slighted.[2]

These measures reduced the Lincoln forces to a mere handful of men, and these were "practically without arms and no way fitted for present service." Rossiter, therefore, sent to the Lords an urgent request for reinforcements; but his appeal, as one might expect, was made in vain.[3]

[1] Portland MSS., I, 466, 467; E. 449 (40).

[2] Portland MSS., I, pp. 466, 467; E. 449 (40), 450 (3). The Earls of Rutland and Lincoln strenuously opposed the occupation of their castles of Belvoir and Tattershall, and the Lords issued orders that both of them should be evacuated. The Commons, however, carried the point against them. Belvoir became Rossiter's headquarters, and Tattershall castle was still in the hands of the Roundheads on August 18, when the Lords summoned Captain Clinton, the Governor, to be sent for as a delinquent. See *Lords' Journal*, X, pp. 273, 284, 357, 421, 487; and Eller's *Belvoir Castle*, pp. 95, 96.

[3] Portland MSS., I, pp. 466, 467; *Cal. St. P, Dom.*, 516, p. 158.

The Pomfraiters, naturally, took advantage of their opportunity, and, during the night of June 29 or early the next morning, set off for Lincoln, with the footmen either riding behind the cavalry or running beside them. About nine o'clock on the 30th, they ferried their men over the Trent, probably above Gainsborough, and the news of their approach was at once carried to Lincoln, where it was received at eleven. Little time, however, remained for organizing means of resistance, for the enemy was at the gates between noon and one o'clock, and at once began plundering the city.[1]

Having sacked the house of Captain Pert, who was then in arms in Northumberland for the Parliament, they drove Captain Bee, "with his armed Gospellers" (which probably means the city trained bands), into the Bishop's Palace, where he was besieged by a party of the Royalists who had occupied the Minster. For three hours he offered a stout resistance, and it was not until the palace was burning over his head that he would entertain thoughts of yielding. Even then he declared that he "would be consumed unless he might surrender upon conditions propounded by himself." The terms, which included "the protection of his person and estate," were agreed to; but no sooner was the palace delivered than all of them were broken. The captain was arrested, and he remained a prisoner until released in the field at Willoughby fight, all his wares and goods, together with the arms ammunition and money in the palace, were taken, and in the evening of the next day they were carted away to Gainsborough.[2]

Meanwhile the rest of the raiders were busy elsewhere. They intercepted the post letters arriving from Edinburgh,

[1] *Hutchinson Memoirs*, p. 253; E. 451 (7) and (41).

[2] Rushworth, p. 1174; *Monckton Papers*, pp. 21, 22, and Appendix; E. 451 (7), (15), (41), (46). Amongst the money taken from the palace, estimated at £1,100, was the sum of £171 18*s*. 9*d*. belonging to the Assessments Committee. See *Commons' Journal*, V, p. 629, and E. 447 (14). For notes on "Captain Original Peart," whose house was in St. Peter at Gowts, see Mansell Sympson's *Lincoln*.

Berwick, Newcastle, York, and other northern towns; killed Mr. Smith, an officer of the Sequestrations Committee; and captured Captain Fines, Alderman Douse, and Alderman Ellis, the Mayor, together with one Mr. Ellis, who apparently lived outside the town. They also seized horses tethered in the stables or pasturing in the fields. A certain Mr. Rayner, the Rector of St. Peter at Arches, who had been appointed preacher at the Cathedral after the abolition of the Dean and Chapter, and had been maltreated by the royalist soldiers when they occupied Lincoln in 1643, seems to have been a special object of the enemy's resentment. Found in the Minster, he fled to the library to hide himself; but the raiders followed him with swords drawn, swearing they would have him dead or alive; whereupon he opened the door and delivered himself up to them. They stripped him of his coat, robbed him of his purse, and led him in triumph through the streets, until Captain Gibbon, a Royalist who had formerly been his pupil at Market Rasen, met the party and released him.[1]

The knowledge of the raid must have spread apace, for it was carried to Stamford on June 30 by two separate messengers, and Rossiter, who was now at Belvoir, learned it in time to give "the alarm to Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Rutland" during the evening. None of the accounts mention any fighting by the Lincoln horse. It would seem, therefore, that, being still without pistols and consequently "unfitted for present service," they scattered in all directions on the arrival of the enemy, spreading the news as they went. The Lincolnshire Royalists naturally heard it too, and that night and the next day a large number of them joined their friends in the city.[2]

[1] Rushworth, p. 1174; E. 451 (7) and (15); Sympson, p. 136, where the Mayor's name is given as Dawson, and that of the other Alderman as Emis.

[2] E. 449 (40), 451 (7), (15), (18); *Monckton Papers*, Appendix. The news reached Belvoir so soon that the writer of the letter of June 30 printed in E. 451 (15) thought that the raid had begun on the day before.

On the Saturday—the raid took place on a Friday—the plundering was continued. The partly ruined castle then served as a prison, and Captain Bird was ordered by Monckton to summon Mrs. Smith, the Keeper, to release such as were "committed upon malice and for their loyalty to his Majesty." Bird, however, with excess of zeal, set all the prisoners free. Among the number were five women, some of whom were accused of killing their bastard children. The men included a gentleman named Thomas Goodwin, besides a number of debtors, murderers, and felons, who joined the ranks of the invaders. It was reported also that the Royalists began to fortify the Minster, but that they made no attempt to garrison the town or the Cathedral close, since they lacked ammunition and "provisions" for the purpose. Before the day was over, however, they left the city, and, as we have already seen, set off for Gainsborough.[1]

No reason has been assigned for this movement, and none of the explanations that might be suggested seem entirely satisfactory. It is plain, however, as the sequel will show, that a fatal blunder had been committed.[2]

Soon after the raiders left Axholme, Overton dispatched a small vessel up the Humber with some guns and two hundred men. He anchored his ship in the river and, sending his small force "in boats over the water at Eyres mouth," affected a lodgment in the island. "Upon their approach," we are told, "the Enemy all fled and made what shift they could to get away," so that the place was regained "without the losse of any blood." But worse still, even the passage at Gainsborough was blocked to the Cavaliers. When they left Pontefract, Sir Henry Cholmeley, Sir Edward Rhodes, and Colonel Charles Fairfax were quartering at Leeds with a larger force than theirs; and Cholmeley no sooner heard of the march into Lincolnshire than he hastened with five hundred foot and two troops of horse

[1] *Monckton Papers*, App., pp. 194–196; E. 451 (7), (15), (18), and (41).
[2] E. 451 (29) and (41).

to Ferrybridge. Here he left his tired soldiers, and, taking up five hundred horse and three hundred dragoons from the troops investing Pontefract, he started off with these fresh men, and, by dint of hard riding, accomplished two days' march in one, and arrived at Gainsborough in the nick of time.[1]

Some five or six hundred of the newly raised men from the neighbouring counties, including two hundred Leicestershire horse under Hacker, joined Rossiter at Belvoir on July 2, and he set off in pursuit of the enemy on the morning of Monday, July 3. Before he reached Lincoln "there met and joyned with him a Troop of horse from Lyn,"[2] which Fairfax "had put under the command of Capt. Taylor, who together refreshed that night in and about Waddington fields, 3 miles South of" the city. Early on the Tuesday morning Rossiter resumed his march. He passed through Lincoln by three o'clock, and on the way to Gainsborough he was informed by a Lincoln man, who had been taken prisoner by the Cavaliers and had escaped that night, that the enemy "were all drawn off from Gainsborough at 10 of the clock on Munday Evening and were marched towards Newark." Rossiter changed his route accordingly, and, after a pursuit of eighteen miles, he reached Newark; but, being too late to come up with the Royalists, who were reported to be "quartered about Bingham, 6 miles before him," he halted for the night in a meadow a mile from the town, where he was joined by a further contingent of "about 150 horse, the one halfe from Derby and Rutland," the other half being "Gentlemen and Freeholders of Lincolne and Leicestershire, who voluntarily would adventure their lives for their Countryes freedome."[3]

In the meantime Cholmeley had been moving along the left bank of the Trent; and, though no detailed record

[1] Holmes, pp. 305, 306; E. 450 (3) and (26), and 451 (15), (41).

[2] Lynn had been fortified against the Malignants in the Isle of Ely, Wisbech, March, and Whittlesey, about the middle of June. See Portland MSS., I, p. 464.

[3] Portland MSS., I, p. 475; E. 451 (41).

of his march is forthcoming, it is reasonable to suppose, from what happened later, that he kept in touch with the Cavaliers and with Rossiter, and that he passed the night somewhere between Newark and Nottingham.

Mrs. Hutchinson's narrative suggests that the Cavaliers turned aside from Bingham towards Nottingham, where they probably hoped to cross the Trent. Captain Poulton, however, was aware of their movements, and sent a messenger to Colonel Hutchinson, who was then at his house at Owthorpe about five miles away; but, fearing that the man might arrive too late to be of use, he fired a cannon by way of warning. The Colonel heard the report whilst he was at dinner, and "believing some extraordinary thing to be in it, commanded horses to be made ready, and went to Nottingham." Meeting Poulton's man on the way, he sent the news home in haste, whereupon "his arms and writings, and other things of value, were put in a cart and sent away." The rest of the horses were removed also, with the exception of two which were out at exercise, and these, unfortunately, fell in with the Royalists, and were captured together with the groom in charge of them The enemy, soon afterwards, came near the house, and halted their main body "on a hill at the town's end." Sir Gilbert Biron, a kinsman of Hutchinson's, had been commanded not to disturb the family if the Colonel was away; and, even if the Cavaliers had wished to spoil the house, "they could not stay to take, nor would burden themselves with plunder," because "they were so closely pursued by the Lincolnshire troops." Food, however, they must have; so they "sent a party to the house to fetch them what provisions of meat and drink they found there." They then went on towards Kegworth, where they expected to find "a conjunction of forces" from Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Norfolk, under the command of Lord Beaumont.[1]

[1] *Hutchinson Memoirs*, pp. 253, 254. *Monckton Papers*, p. 22; Holmes, pp. 305, 320.

On Wednesday morning, July 5, Rossiter ordered "a forlorne hope" or advanced party, consisting of

"150 of the ablest horse under the command of Capt. Champion of Nottinghamshire, to pursue at a fast Rate, and so by falling on the enemies Reere to enforce them to a stand or halt till he with the body of horse could come up to them."

In the meantime, the enemy, who had probably quartered for the night about Widmerpool, were anxiously deliberating as to the best course to pursue. They had doubtless been informed by their scouts that there was no one to meet them at Kegworth, but that Grey, with his newly enlisted county militia, had secured the passages over the Soar during the night, and that Grey himself was at Cotes bridge, near Loughborough, with about four hundred men. They certainly knew that Cholmeley and his Yorkshire men, who were more numerous even than Rossiter's, would be able to join him "within five or six hours." Should they, therefore, continue their retreat, or should they stay where they were? It was unlikely that they would be able to avoid a fight, and it would perhaps be wisest to stand and engage Rossiter before the other Roundheads could join him. This plan would most likely have been adopted in any case, but the matter was decided for them by the unexpected arrival of Champion's detachment.[1]

After some preliminary rearguard skirmishing, the Royalists drew up all their men in a single line in a large bean field on the north side of Willoughby and about a quarter of a mile from the church. Rossiter, on the other hand, having been informed by Champion of the enemy's position, set off "at a full Trot," and,

"observing that the enemies strength was placed in their body, consisting of a party of foot winged with horse, and those horse flanked with Musketeers, and that with them the men of the best quality (as appeared by their outward Garbes) seemed to be mounted,"

[1] Portland MSS., I, p. 475; Holmes, p. 305; E. 451 (41).

he decided to attack them, although he himself had neither foot nor dragoons. He drew up his front line in three divisions, with himself in the centre, Colonel White of Nottingham on the right wing, and Hacker on the left; and he placed two reserves of horse in the rear. Within half an hour his preparations were complete, the password "Fairfax" was passed along the ranks, and he advanced to the charge. The enemy received the onset with great resolution, shouting their battle-cry of "Jesus," and "it was handsomely disputed on both sides."[1]

In the official account of the fight we are told that Rossiter's reserves, unable to restrain their ardour, charged with the rest, and that both armies fell on

> "to Swords point, and so continued in close fight, neither party giving ground for some space, till by the fierceness of each party both were put into disorder."

Monckton, on the other hand, says that his men forced Rossiter's first line "to recoyle, yet his reserves stood firm and advanced upon us." Both accounts however, agree that the fight was hotly contested, and that the ranks of both parties were thrown into confusion and hopelessly intermingled. It was difficult in the mêlée to distinguish friend from foe, for the Royalists were practically without "colours,"—a term which means not only flags, but uniforms, officers' sashes, and the distinguishing badges worn in the men's caps. The Roundheads were not much better provided with them; but their slight advantage enabled them to rally their men, and after "the dispute had continued a while doubtful," to put the Royalists to utter rout.[2]

Few of the Royalists were slain on the spot, but many fell in the cornfields round about. Their number, however, cannot be even approximately ascertained, for their bodies had not been found when the official list was pub-

[1] E. 451 (41).
[2] E. 451 (41); *Monckton Papers*, p. 23; Holmes, p. 306.

lished. The Roundheads maintained that nearly all the survivors were captured; and their contention is confirmed by Paulden, the Pontefract Royalist, who says "I doe beleeue there was not 20 escaped of the field." Hacker "took 100 or thereabouts passing over the Trent." Grey's men from Cotes bridge dealt with parties "running away in 30 and 20 in a company" and with smaller groups of stragglers. Others were no doubt accounted for by "two gallant troopes of horse from Northampton" which had been delayed by "the crosse marching of the enemy," and did not, therefore, come up until "about an houre after the fight." Some may also have been taken by Cholmeley's horse, who crossed the Trent at Nottingham about the same time.[1]

Rossiter lost about thirty men

"slaine upon the place, the Cornet to his own Troop being the highest Officer, at whose fall his colours were lost and for a while in the enemies hands, until Cornet Ridgeley, a reformado in the Same Troop, recovered them."

So far, therefore, as the fighting in the field was concerned, the boast of a royalist writer that "the Rebells in that fight lost three for one of the Royall Party" may be literally if inadvertently true.[2]

It is naturally impossible to ascertain with exactitude the numbers engaged on either side. But, from the latest returns of the captured and slain, and assuming that about twenty escaped, we arrive at a total of about a thousand Royalists. Most of these were old soldiers, and many even of those who served in the ranks were "gentlemen of quality" who had formerly been officers. Rossiter, on the other hand, commanded between eight and nine hundred

[1] Holmes, p. 306; Portland MSS., I, p. 475; E. 451 (41), 452 (13), 453 (10). Most of the Royalists fled towards Leicestershire (*Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, p. 168), and the bones of men and horses found at Rempstone and East Leake, with, as I am informed, some of the field names in the neighbourhood of Wymeswold, seem to indicate places where they made their last stand.

[2] E. 451 (41), 452 (12).

men. But it must be remembered that, according to the authorized account drawn up by Rossiter's Captain-Lieutenant Norwood, who took the news of the battle to London, all of them "saving Capt. Taylor's Troope and 40 of Belvoier horse commanded by Lieutenant Deane" were "newly raised men, and mounted upon new bought horses." This fact, says Norwood, gave the Royalists "as great encouragement to encounter them . . . as confidence to have beaten and ruined them"; and when we consider that Monckton's men, hemmed in by enemies on all sides, and fully realizing the consequences of defeat, fought with the desperation of a stag at bay, we can hardly fail to endorse Norwood's eulogy of the bravery and devotion of "the country men, who were strangers to such hard service," and we are little inclined to accuse him of cant when he ascribes the victory solely "to the power and goodnesse of God."[1]

The published lists of prisoners include the names of at least thirteen of the Cavaliers who had been present at the Pontefract Council of War on June 17. Others of note were Captain Bird, who had released the prisoners in Lincoln castle, and Captain John and Lieutenant-Colonel Cecil Cooper, the sons of that Sir Roger Cooper of Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire, whose house was plundered by Colonel Thornhaugh's men in 1644.[2]

Monckton, who had not yet recovered from the wound in his right arm, received two years before when he commanded Langdale's brigade at Rowton Heath, was forced to manage his horse with his left; but during the pursuit he was wounded in that arm also, and thereupon "dis-

[1] E. 451 (29) and (41), 452 (13) and (17); Rushworth, pp. 1174, 1183; Whitelock, p. 315a; Portland MSS., I, p. 477. Rushworth calls Rossiter's messenger Harwood; but see *Commons' Journal*, V, pp. 627, 628. Note this entry in the Stathern Constables' Accounts:—"Itt. spent at Leicester the 6th of July when I wente before my Lord Graye about the Horses that our Towne weare charged with all in charges of Horse and selfe, 0:6:8."

[2] Holmes, p. 243; *Hutchinson Memoirs*, pp. 218, 219; E. 451 (41), 452 (13).

armed and brought into Nottingham by Mr. Boyer, a high Constable of that County, who," the writer adds, " deservedly now wears his sword." He was afterwards sent to Belvoir to join his fellow commander, Gilbert Biron, the youngest of the seven members of the family who fought for Charles. Monckton was a near neighbour of Fairfax; and Biron, it will be remembered, was a kinsman of Colonel Hutchinson. They both escaped execution through the kind offices of Rossiter, who, in October, 1648, persuaded Fairfax to set them at liberty. But Mrs. Hutchinson, who was ever ready to extol her husband's generosity, and, when doing so, did not always display the strictest regard for accuracy, gives a different version of the matter. Biron, she says,

" being in distresse, although he was an enemie, and had dealt unhandsomely with Coll. Hutchinson in endeavouring to corrupt one for whom he was engag'd,[1] yett the collonell sent him a summe of mony for his present reliefe, and after procur'd him a release and composition with the parliament."

It will be noticed that on this occasion, as on many others, her memory was conveniently treacherous, for she forgot to mention that Biron saved her house from plunder on the day before his capture.[2]

Michael Stanhope, a gallant youth of twenty-four years of age, and the third of the triumvirate of royalist commanders, was slain on the field of battle. Natives of Willoughby still point to the spot where he fell, and a silvered shoe buckle of the Stuart period, which was found close by and may possibly have been his, is a treasured possession of the successive vicars of the parish.[3]

[1] Poulton.

[2] *Monckton Papers*, pp. 23, 44, 63; *Hutchinson Memoirs*, p. 254; E. 451 (41).

[3] Stanhope's father, the Earl of Chesterfield, was captured at Lichfield in 1643, and was still a prisoner. His brother Ferdinando was slain at East Bridgford in 1644; and Philip, another brother, was mortally wounded at the storming of Shelford in 1645. See *Dict. Nat. Biography*. A brass tablet inscribed to Michael's memory may be seen in Willoughby church, where his body for a time lay buried.

Of the parliamentary leaders, Captain Greenwood, who commanded the Derby troop, was dangerously wounded; Colonel White escaped with "only his nose cut"; whilst Hacker and Deane were also injured more or less slightly. Hacker's charger also appears to have been put out of action, for on July 11 the Stathern constable spent fourpence "at Harbee geoing to buy" him a horse.[1]

Rossiter, however, was in worse case.

"In the first charge," writes Norwood, "Col. Rossiter lost his head-piece, received a shot through the right thigh, and some other painfull wounds with a musket Bullet, notwithstanding which he kept the field fighting, till he saw the battail wholly wonne, not discovering his wounding to any person for feare it might prove a discourage to the Souldiers: after which, ready to fall through losse of blood, he rode to Nottingham, where he lieth capable of recovery, through the blessing of God upon the meanes used to that end."

He was, however, well enough on the next day to write a brief notice of the victory, but, he concludes,

"my present indisposition occasioned by my wounds received in this sharp engagement will not give me leave to present you with an account thereof in writing. I have therefore sent my Captain Lieutenant to give you a full narrative of the whole business."[2]

On the same day, and most likely by the same messenger, the Nottingham Committee sent a letter to the members of Parliament for the town and county, desiring that some of the prisoners might be tried at the next assizes and the rest sent over sea, and that the charge of keeping them and providing for the many wounded of both sides might be met by the sale of some part of the estates of those who had been "Parties in this late Designe."[3]

These letters were considered by the Commons on July 8. The requests of the Nottingham Committee were granted.

[1] E. 451 (41).

[2] E. 451 (41); Portland MSS., I, p. 477.

[3] Portland MSS., I, p. 477; Zachary Grey's *Examination of Neal's History of the Puritans*, III, App., p. 24; E. 453 (23).

An allowance was made to the Lincoln Committee sufficient to cover the ascertainable loss to their treasury. Captain Charles Norwood was rewarded with a grant of £100, and he was ordered "to put in Writing the Narrative of the Fight" and "to take care for the Printing of it, together with the List of the Prisoners." The thanks of the Commons were sent to the principal persons engaged on their behalf, not forgetting the late arrivals from Northamptonshire. The sum of £2,000 was voted for Rossiter, and the Derby House Committee was instructed to send him a sympathetic letter together with "a Surgeon, a Physician, and an Apothecary," who were to be paid £100 for their services. An order was issued by both Houses that, on the next day, Sunday, July 9, "Thankes be given to Almighty God . . . in all the Churches and Chappels within the late Lines of Communication for the Great Victory." The Lord Mayor of London was "desired to give notice thereof to the severall Ministers of these severall Places"; and a broadsheet, of which there is a well-preserved copy in the British Museum, was printed and circulated accordingly.[1]

Judged by modern standards these measures seem out of all proportion to the apparent triviality of the fight at Willoughby, and to the smallness of the forces taking part in it. But the importance of the battle must not be estimated by numbers alone, and the rejoicings in London, as well as the obscene scurrility of the royalist scribes, seem to indicate that both Royalists and Roundheads fully appreciated its significance. As we have already pointed out, it was surprising and complete. It was the

[1] *Commons' Journal*, V, pp. 627–629; *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 370; Thomason Tracts, 669, f. 12 (71) and (86); *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 516, pp. 172, 182. Rossiter had completely recovered from his wounds by the end of July, and, after further hard service against the Royalists, he returned to his place in the House of Commons on November 15. He was publicly thanked by the Speaker, by command of the Commons, and, on November 21, their vote of £2,000, passed in July, was confirmed by the Lords. E. 456 (20); *Lords' Journal*, X, p. 599; Rushworth, pp. 1315, 1332.

first notable success gained over the Cavaliers during the Second Civil War by practically unaided country levies. It proved conclusively that, however disloyal to the Parliament the local gentry might be, the general body of the townsmen and peasantry had not forgotten the insolence of the Scots during the earlier war, nor the havoc then wrought amongst them by Hastings, Lucas, Goring, and Langdale, and that they were in no mood to brook a repetition of their experience. It showed that, in Leicestershire, Rutland, and Lincolnshire, there were men of active minds and energy, capable of rapid organization, alive to their responsibilities, and possessing sufficient initiative to translate their knowledge into action, without waiting for official sanction. It convinced the authorities in London that the local committees were unlikely to abuse any additional powers that might be given them to raise men and money for their country's defence; and such powers were, therefore, soon afterwards bestowed with a free hand.[1]

The fight at Willoughby, moreover, had an important bearing upon Langdale's movements and the fall of Colchester. Letters taken from the pockets of the captured officers revealed that the Pomfraiters intended

> "to have marched Southward through Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, in whose march they doubted not but to have encreased to many thousands, and to have joyned with others rising about London,"

i.e. of course, with Holland and Buckingham, "and to have raised Colchester siege." Their defeat, however, not only thwarted that object, but it brought about the consolidation of the East Midlands, and indirectly built so formidable a barrier between the Royalists to the north and south of them that, at the Council of War held at Kirby Thure on July 17, Langdale, now apparently convinced of the impractibility of taking a route of his own, decided to

[1] E. 452 (12) and (40); Rushworth, pp. 1181, 1185, 1213; *Commons' Journal*, pp. 626, 629, 631.

throw in his lot with the Scots, and join them in their disastrous march through the narrow muddy lanes of Lancashire. Towards the middle of June the Colchester men gave out that he was "certainly coming to their relief," and, from an extremely interesting letter written by Capel and intercepted by Fairfax's scouts, it is evident that Capel knew nothing of the Willoughby disaster, that he believed Langdale to be in possession of Lincoln on or about July 18, and expected him to have advanced as far as Cambridge before the letter could reach him. Langdale, indeed, as late as August 8, was still hopeful of breaking through the Pennines with the help of the Scots, and "very confident" of raising the siege "within few daies"; for he entirely underrated the power of Cromwell, and he knew nothing of the invaluable additions made to it by the newly organized forces of Lincolnshire and the neighbourhood. He little dreamed of the surprise that, hardly more than a week later, was to startle him at Preston, or that within three weeks Hamilton would surrender to Grey, and he himself would be a prisoner in Nottingham.[1]

These matters, however, cannot be dealt with within the limits imposed upon this essay; and it must suffice that an attempt has been made to trace the course of the hitherto obscure but by no means negligible happenings in the East Midlands, which, like a tiny rivulet flowing with increasing volume towards its parent river, were to add their quota to the rising flood of parliamentary triumphs, that would culminate ere long in the ruin of the King himself.

[1] E. 451 (41), 454 (15), 457 (20), 467 (21); Rushworth, p. 1170.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, SESSION 1921–1922

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting the following Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows :—

The Council are unfortunately obliged to record as the outstanding feature of the history of the last session certain great losses by the deaths of distinguished Fellows.

The death of Colonel Lloyd, V.P., was announced briefly in the last issue. It had been notified after the Report had gone to press. Colonel Lloyd had been for many years a member of the Council and Vice-President. He was most assiduous in his attendance at meetings of the Council, until ill-health and age prevented him, and his presence was always most useful. A great authority on military history, his interest went much further than that, and all his colleagues felt his death as a personal loss. He bequeathed a valuable collection of books, chiefly on military history and Napoleonic subjects, to the Society. The Council acquired from his family the bookcase in which they were placed, which will serve as a memorial of the donor.

The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, P.C., O.M., F.B.A., D.C.L., Hon. V.P., ended his long and distinguished career on January 22, 1922. It is needless to speak of his eminence as an historian. His interest in the Society was keen, and his services and advice were always freely given. It is probable that but for his high employments in the public service, notably as Ambassador to Washington, the Society might have been honoured by his occupation of the post of President.

On July 10 the heaviest loss was sustained by the death of Sir George W. Prothero, LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., Vice-President, and President from 1901–1905. It is superfluous to recall the services of Sir George Prothero, well known to all the Fellows, and recently recapitulated in an address by the Rev. Professor Whitney on November 23, 1922. This address will, it is hoped, be published. Sir George Prothero was almost a second founder of the Society, his influence in raising its numbers and its

reputation was so great. He was also the practical founder of the Library by his frequent and munificent gifts of books. After his Presidential term of office had ended he gave constant attendance to the ordinary meetings of Council, and served upon or presided over all special Committees. The great work which he was editing, "A Bibliography of British History, 1500–1900," will it is hoped be brought to completion. It was supported by subscriptions from the Society, and from other sources British and American, and largely executed by Fellows of the Society.

On September 21, 1922, Sir Julian Corbett, V.P., died. His important contributions to naval history in this country are well known.

The Society also lost by death, in September, the Hon. Sir G. C. Wade, K.C., late Agent-General for Australia; and the Rev. H. S. Cronin, who had contributed papers to our Transactions, died suddenly in November.

Two eminent Corresponding Fellows have died: Dr. Oscar Montelius, Corresponding Fellow in Sweden, and Dr. Braamcamp Friere, in Portugal.

The Council had pleasure in suggesting and presenting an address of congratulation to Sir James Ramsay, Bt., M.A., F.S.A., Hon. V.P., upon his reaching his ninetieth birthday; also in being able to congratulate a former President, Sir Charles H. Firth, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., upon his knighthood.

The Society has been able to promote the forthcoming Historical Congress in Brussels, fixed for April 9–14, 1923. We undertook to send notices, and invitations to read papers, to the Universities and Learned Societies of the British Empire and of America. The following delegates to the Congress have been nominated:

The President (the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, C.V.O., LL.D.), J. F. Chance, M.A., H. E. Egerton, M.A., Sir Charles Firth, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Miss Rose Graham, M.A., F.S.A., Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., the Right Hon. the Earl of Ilchester, H. E. Malden, M.A., Sir Charles Oman, M.P., F.S.A., F.B.A., G. W. T. Omond, M.A., R. A. Roberts, Professor Holland Rose, Litt.D., Professor T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Sir Paul Vinogradoff, F.B.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

To the Congress at Rio Janeiro, held in September last to commemorate the centenary of Brazilian Independence, the Society was able to contribute two historical papers by

Dr. George Edmundson. Mr. G. W. T. Omond kindly consented to serve as delegate from the Society to the meeting at Brussels in April, 1922, to celebrate the 150th anniversary of L'Académie Royale de Belgique.

Dr. Seton Watson and Mr. A. G. Little were appointed delegates at the celebration of the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the University of Padua, held in May, 1922.

The Act introduced by Lord Birkenhead, passed in the last Session of Parliament, to simplify land transfer and tenures, and in effect abolishing copy-hold, was, it appeared, likely to lead to some destruction of Manorial Court-rolls, a very important source of local and family history. The Secretary was empowered to communicate with the Lord Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls, and to write to the press. Satisfactory answers were received, some attention was drawn to the continued value of the Rolls, and the local press and some other Societies took notice of the matter.

A dinner was held at the Holborn Restaurant on July 6, 1922, His Excellency the Swedish Minister being the guest of honour, on the occasion of the issue of the first volume of the new Series of Diplomatic Instructions, "Sweden, 1689–1727," edited by Mr. J. F. Chance, V.P. The Hon. J. W. Fortescue (President) was in the chair.

The use of the rooms by other Societies has continued. In addition to those meeting before, the St. Thomas' Historical Society, the Jersey Society in London, and the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion have held meetings.

The agreement with the Royal Numismatic Society expired at Michaelmas. The arrangement is being continued annually on the same terms.

At the Annual Meeting, February, 1922, the Vice-Presidents retiring in rotation and not re-eligible, under By-law XVII, as amended, were Professor Pollard, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., and Colonel Lloyd, R.E.

J. E. Morris, D.Litt., and G. W. T. Omond, M.A., were elected to fill the vacancies.

The members of Council retiring under the same By-law were Professor Holland Rose, Litt.D., G. M. Trevelyan, M.A., Basil Williams, M.A., C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A., Professor Hearnshaw, LL.D. To fill the vacancies and the place of Mr. Omond elected Vice-President, M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., Miss Alice Gardner, M.A., H. P. Biggar, B.Litt., F. A. Kirkpatrick,

M.A., Professor F. M. Stenton, M.A., and the Rev. A. J. Carlyle, M.A., were elected to the Council.

Mr. Charles Johnson, M.A., and Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., were re-elected Auditors for the Fellows, and Mr. A. F. Sieveking, F.S.A., for the Council.

The Library has been increased by the gifts of the late Sir G. W. Prothero, and, since his death, of Lady Prothero, and by Colonel Lloyd's bequest as noticed above. Other gifts have been received, which have been separately acknowledged, and for which the Council now wishes to offer thanks collectively. An exchange has been arranged with the Royal Australian Historical Society. The purchase of the publications of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has been decided upon.

In spite of the fact that the cost of printing and distributing the publications of the Society continues to be greatly enhanced, the Council has succeeded in maintaining the former rate of production without increasing the subscriptions of Fellows, a performance which has not been equalled, we believe, by any other learned Society. At the same time the quality of the Papers and Texts published during the session has been fully maintained.

The following Papers were read in the course of the session 1921–1922 :—

"The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1578–88." By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (November 10, 1921.)

"Year Books and Plea Rolls as Sources of Historical Information." By H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.Hist.S. (December 8, 1921.)

"The Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny." By F. W. Buckler, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (January 12, 1922.)

"The Influence of the Industrial Revolution (1760–1790) on the Demand for Parliamentary Reform." By Miss G. Whale. (March 9, 1922.)

"The Office of Deputy-Lieutenant and its Historical Significance." By Miss G. Scott Thomson, F.R.Hist.S. (May 11, 1922.)

"Practical Notes on Historical Research." By Sir Francis Piggott, M.A., LL.M., F.R.Hist.S. (April 11, 1922.)

At the Annual Meeting on February 9, 1922, the Hon. Mrs. John Fortescue (in the enforced absence of the President through indisposition) read a chapter of his forthcoming volume of "The History of the British Army," dealing with the condition of the rank and file at the close of the Napoleonic War.

The Alexander Medal was awarded to Miss Eveline Martin,

M.A., for an essay on the nature and use of the Records of the Royal African Company (June 8, 1922).

The above papers and the Alexander Essay are printed in *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Vol. V. In addition to the above volume of *Transactions*, the following volumes of publications have been issued.

Vol. I of the Series of Diplomatic Instructions to British Ministers abroad and relative correspondence was published during the session as Vol. XXXII of the Camden Third Series under the title of "Instructions and other Documents illustrating the Diplomatic Relations between England and Sweden (1689–1727)," edited by Mr. J. F. Chance. A copy of this publication was presented to His Excellency the Swedish Minister on the occasion of the Society's dinner on July 6, and formed the subject of an interesting review by His Excellency of the historical relations between the two countries. Six foreign Governments have purchased copies. Vol. II, dealing with the Diplomatic Relations between Great Britain and France during the same period, is in active preparation and will be edited by Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg, M.A., as Vol. XXXIV of the Camden Series.

Vol. XXXIII of the Camden Series, dealing with the Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson, 1774–1784, edited by Professor W. T. Laprade, of Trinity College, Durham N.C., has also been published and will supply some very important materials for the elucidation of George III's intervention in the Parliamentary elections of the period. The Introduction contains an appreciation of the exhaustive researches made by the late Mr. B. F. Stevens among the family papers of the Marquess of Abergavenny in connection with Secret Service Accounts of King George III referred to in the above-mentioned work.

Vol. XXXIV of the Camden Series, being Vol. XIII of the Camden Miscellany, is in course of preparation for the press.

The Secretary reports that the total membership of the Society on October 31, 1922, including Honorary, Corresponding, Life, and Ordinary Fellows, and subscribing Libraries, was 941. Of this number 10 were Honorary, 25 were Corresponding Members, and 96 were Life Fellows. The annual subscriptions are received from Ordinary Fellows, paying £1 1*s*. under the old regulations; from members of the old Camden Society, paying £1; from subscribing Libraries, paying £1 10*s*.; and from Fellows paying the statutory subscription, £2 2*s*. There are

59 British and foreign Societies which exchange Transactions with the Royal Historical Society.

During the year 59 Fellows were elected, and 4 Libraries admitted. By death the Society lost 9 Fellows, by resignation 11, and 4 Libraries; 5 Fellows were removed from the Roll for non-payment of subscription. Total gain 34. It is gratifying that the necessary raising of the subscription of Libraries from £1 to £1 10*s.* has left their number exactly the same.

The Treasurer reports: The accounts show that the income of the year exceeded the expenditure by £11 14s. 10d. Allowance has been made for the sum owing to the printers for publications in hand but not yet issued. The item of Sundries includes a considerable sum spent on new bookcases to accommodate the ever-growing needs of the Library. The value of the Society's securities has gone up considerably since last year's report and was at the close of the financial year £1,814, an appreciable premium on the figure to which the values were written down two years ago. No alteration has however been made as yet in the accounts. The Russian Bond is again taken as having no value at the present time.

Since the Report has gone to press we have had the news of yet another loss. Mr. Frederic Harrison, Hon. V.P., has passed away full of years and honour.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income and Expenditure Account relating to the Year ending October 31, 1922.

Income.			£ s. d.
Subscriptions of 1920 : 1 at 42s.	£2 2 0		
,, 1921 : 5 at 20s.	5 0 0		
,, ,, : 21 at 42s.	44 2 0		
		£51 4 0	
Less amount estimated to be received in last year's accounts for subscriptions in arrear		20 0 0	
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate			31 4 0
Subscriptions now in arrear estimated to be received			20 0 0
Subscriptions of 1922 : 10 at 20s.		10 0 0	
,, ,, 202 at 30s.		303 0 0	
,, ,, 12 at 21s.		12 12 0	
,, ,, 572 at 42s.		1201 4 0	
			1526 16 0
Life subscriptions : 5 at £21		105 0 0	
Less proportion required by By-Law IX. to be invested (see Balance-sheet)		70 0 0	
			35 0 0
Dividends on Russian 4% Bond (Alexander Trust)			0 0 0
,, Consols			12 13 8
,, India 3½% Stock			22 16 10
,, Canada 3½% Stock			7 16 3
,, War Stock 5%			22 10 0
,, War Bonds 4%			6 0 0
Interest on Deposit Account at Bank			13 1 7
British Archæological Association			30 0 0
Historical Association			32 2 0
Royal Numismatic Society			50 0 0
Japan Society			109 4 0
Sundry small receipts			10 13 9
			£1929 18 1

Expenditure.			£ s. d.
Publications : Printing and Distributing	£678 11 1		
Editing and Indexing	4 4 0		
	£682 15 1		
Less received from Sales	55 12 3		
		627 2 10	
Salaries of Director and Assistant Secretary and travelling expenses of Hon. Secretary	£457 17 9		
Wages	106 19 9		
		564 17 6	
Rent of Premises, 22 Russell Square		170 0 0	
Coal		40 7 0	
Electric Light, Gas, etc.		25 2 2	
Rates (Parochial, etc.) and Taxes		154 17 6	
General Printing and Stationery		101 17 9	
Library : Books, Periodicals, and Binding		64 18 6	
Postages, etc.		35 8 2	
Sundries (Petty Cash payments) including New Book-cases, Safe, Painting, Cleaning and Repairs		97 5 3	
Insurance (Fire, National Health, etc.)		10 1 10	
Monthly Meetings (cost of Refreshments)		9 16 6	
Annual Dinner		12 3 3	
Advertisements		0 15 0	
Alexander Medal		3 10 0	
Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ending October 31, 1922, carried to Balance Sheet		11 14 10	
		£1929 18 1	

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

II.—Balance-sheet of Liabilities and Assets at October 31, 1922.

Liabilities.		£ s. d.
Life subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-Law IX.): amount brought forward from last Balance-sheet	£1836 0 0	
Proportion of Life subscriptions received in 1922 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	70 0 0	
		1906 0 0
[Represented by Consols, India 3½% Stock, Canada 3½% Stock, War Stock 5%, War Bonds 4%, and Cash on Deposit—see *contra*.]		
Alexander Trust Fund [Russian 4% Bond—see *contra*]		0 0 0
Subscriptions received in advance		28 14 0
Amount due to Printers for Works Outstanding		130 0 0
Balance, being surplus of Assets over Liabilities at date, viz., Amount brought forward from last year	£2170 3 1	
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure as shown by Income and Expenditure Account	11 14 10	
		2181 17 11
		£4246 11 11

Assets.		£ s. d.
Consols 2½%, £699 9s. 9d. valued at	£314 0 0	
India 3½% Stock, £900 valued at	500 0 0	
Canada 3½% Stock, £300 valued at	200 0 0	
Russian 4% Bond (see *contra*) cost £98 17s. 6d.	0 0 0	
War Stock 5%, £450 valued at	380 0 0	
War Bonds 4%, £150 valued at	148 0 0	
		1542 0 0
[The current market value of the above investments, omitting the Russian Bond, is £1814.]		
Cash at Bank: Current Account	£144 4 9	
„ Deposit „	539 13 2	
Petty Cash Balance in hand	0 14 0	
		684 11 11
Stock of Publications at Russell Square (value as insured)		100 0 0
Stock of Publications with Printer (value as insured)		500 0 0
Library (value as insured)		1000 0 0
„ Manuscripts (value as insured)		100 0 0
Furniture, etc. „ „		300 0 0
Subscriptions in arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)		20 0 0
		£4246 11 11

(*Signed*) Henry R. Tedder, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Auditors' Report.

The above Statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance-sheet have been prepared from the Books and Vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct.

(*Signed*) CHARLES JOHNSON,
WM. PAGE,
A. FORBES SIEVEKING,
} *Auditors.*

10*th January* 1923.

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Dunedin (New Zealand), Otago University Library.

Grahamstown (South Africa), Rhodes University College Library.

Halifax (Nova Scotia), Legislative Library.

Johannesburg (South Africa), Public Library.

Lahore (India), University of the Punjab.

Melbourne (Victoria), University Central Library.
Melbourne (Victoria), Public Library.
Montreal (Canada), McGill University Library.

Ottawa (Canada), Library of Parliament.
Carnegie Public Library.

Patna (India), Patna College Library.
Perth (West Australia), Public Library.
Pretoria (South Africa), State Library.

Sydney (New South Wales), Public Library of New South Wales.
Sydney (New South Wales), University Library.

Toronto (Canada), Legislative Library of Ontario.
Toronto (Canada), Public Library.

Victoria (British Columbia), Provincial Library.

Wellington (New Zealand), General Assembly Library.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BELGIUM.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale.
Gand, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 2 Fosse d'Othon.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek.

FRANCE.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
Institut de France.
Université de Paris.
Strasburg, Université de.

NORWAY.

Christiania, The University Library.

SWEDEN.

Götebörg, Staadbsbibliothet.
Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket.

UNITED STATES.

Albany (N.Y.), New York State Library.
Amherst (Mass.), Amherst College Library.
Ann Arbor (Mich.), Michigan University Library.

Baltimore (Md.), Enoch Pratt Library.
John Hopkins University Library.
Peabody Institute Library.
Berkeley (Cal.), California University Library.
Bloomington (Ind.), Indiana University Library.
Boston (Mass.), Athenæum.
Public Library.
Brunswick (Me.), Bowdoin College Library.
Bryn Mawr (Pa.), Bryn Mawr College Library.
Buffalo (N.Y.), Grosvenor Public Library.

Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard College Library.
Chicago (Ill.), Chicago Public Library.
Newberry Library.
University Library.
Cincinnati (Ohio), Public Library.

Detroit (Mich.), Public Library.

Grand Forks (N. Dakota), North Dakota University.
Grand Rapids (Mass.), Public Library.

Hanover (N.H.), Dartmouth College Library.
Houston (Texas), Rice Institute Library.

Ithaca (N.Y.), Cornell University Library.

Jersey City (N.J.), Free Library.

Lansing (Mich.), State Library.
Lawrence (Kans.), Kansas University Library.
Lincoln (Neb.), Nebraska University Library.

Madison (Wis.), State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Milwaukee (Wis.), Public Library.
Minneapolis (Minn.), Athenæum Library.
Minnesota University Library.

Newark (N.J.), Free Public Library.
New Haven (Conn.), Yale University Library.
New Orleans (La.), Howard Memorial Library.
New York, Columbia University Library.
General Theological Seminary Library.
Public Library.
University Club Library.

Philadelphia (Pa.), Pennsylvania University Library.
Library Company of Philadelphia
Pittsburg (Pa.), Carnegie Library.
Poughkeepsie (N.Y.), Vassar College Library.
Princeton (N.J.), Princeton University Library.
Providence (R.I.), Brown University Library.

Richmond (Va.), Virginia State Library.

St. Louis (Mo.), Public Library.
San Francisco (Cal.), Public Library.
Seattle (D.C.), University of Washington.
South Bethlehem (Pa.), Lehigh University Library.
South Hadley (Mass.), Mount Holyoke College Library.
Stanford (Cal.), University Library.

Terre Haute (Ind.), Indiana State Normal School Library.
Topeka (Kans.), Kansas State Historical Society.

Urbana (Ill.), Illinois University Library.

Washington (D.C.), Catholic University of America.
Washington (D.C.), Library of Congress.
Wellesley (Mass.), Wellesley College Library.
Williamstown (Mass.), Williams College Library.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
The Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 63 Chancery Lane, W.C.
Surrey Archæological Society, Guildford.
Jewish Historical Society, Mocatta Library, University College, Gower Street, W.C.
The University, Manchester.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES ABROAD

WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SOCIETY.

AUSTRALIA.

Royal Australian Historical Society, Department of Education Offices, Bridge Street, Sydney, Australia.

AUSTRIA.

Kaiserl. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

BELGIUM.

Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts, Palais des Académies, Brussels.
Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Rue du Transvaal 53, Antwerp.
Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11 Rue Ravenstein, Brussels.

CANADA.

Archives of the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa.
Toronto University.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

South African Library, Cape Town.

CZECKO-SLOVAKIA.

Königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Alstadt, c. Nr. 562. Prague.

DENMARK.

Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen.

FRANCE.

Bibliothèque de l'Université de Toulouse, 2 Rue de l'Université, Toulouse, Haute-Garonne.
Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, 108 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris.
Société de l'Histoire de France, 60 Rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.
Société de l'École Nationale des Chartes, 17 Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris.
Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, Rue des Grandes-Ecoles, Poitiers.

GERMANY.

Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, 3 Schlosz Portal, Berlin.

HOLLAND.

Commissie van Advies voor Rijks Geschied-kundige Publicatien, The Hague.
Historisch Genootschap, Utrecht.

ITALY.

Reale Academia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Lucca.
Reale Academia dei Lincei, Rome.
R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, Rome.
Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale, Catania, Sicily.

MEXICO.

Museo Nacional, D.F., Mexican Republic, Mexico.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax, N.S.

PORTUGAL.

Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisbon.
Revista de Historia, Av. do duque de Avila, Lisbon. 112.3°

ROUMANIA.

Academia Romana, Bucharest.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Academia Nacional de la Historia, Carácas, Venezuela.

SPAIN.

Real Academia de la Historia, Calle del Leon 21, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

K. Universitets Biblioteket, Lund.
Kongl. Vitterhets Historie Antiquitets Akademien, National Museum, Stockholm.
The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Sweden, Stockholm.
The University, Upsala.

SWITZERLAND.

Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz. Stadt Bibliothek, Berne.
Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft, Basel, Sonnenweg, 15.

UNITED STATES.

The American Jewish Historical Society, c/o A. M. Friedenberg, Esq., 38 Park Road, New York.
The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
The New York Historical Society, 77 St. and Central Park West, New York.
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R.I.
The Virginia Historical Society, 707 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Va.
The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
The Minnesota Historical Society, Saint Paul, Minn.
The South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.
The New Jersey Historical Society, West Park Street, Newark, N.J.
The New Hampshire State Library, Concord, N.H.
The Connecticut Historical Society, Hertford, Conn.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
Texas State Historical Society, Austin, Texas.
Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.
Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

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